

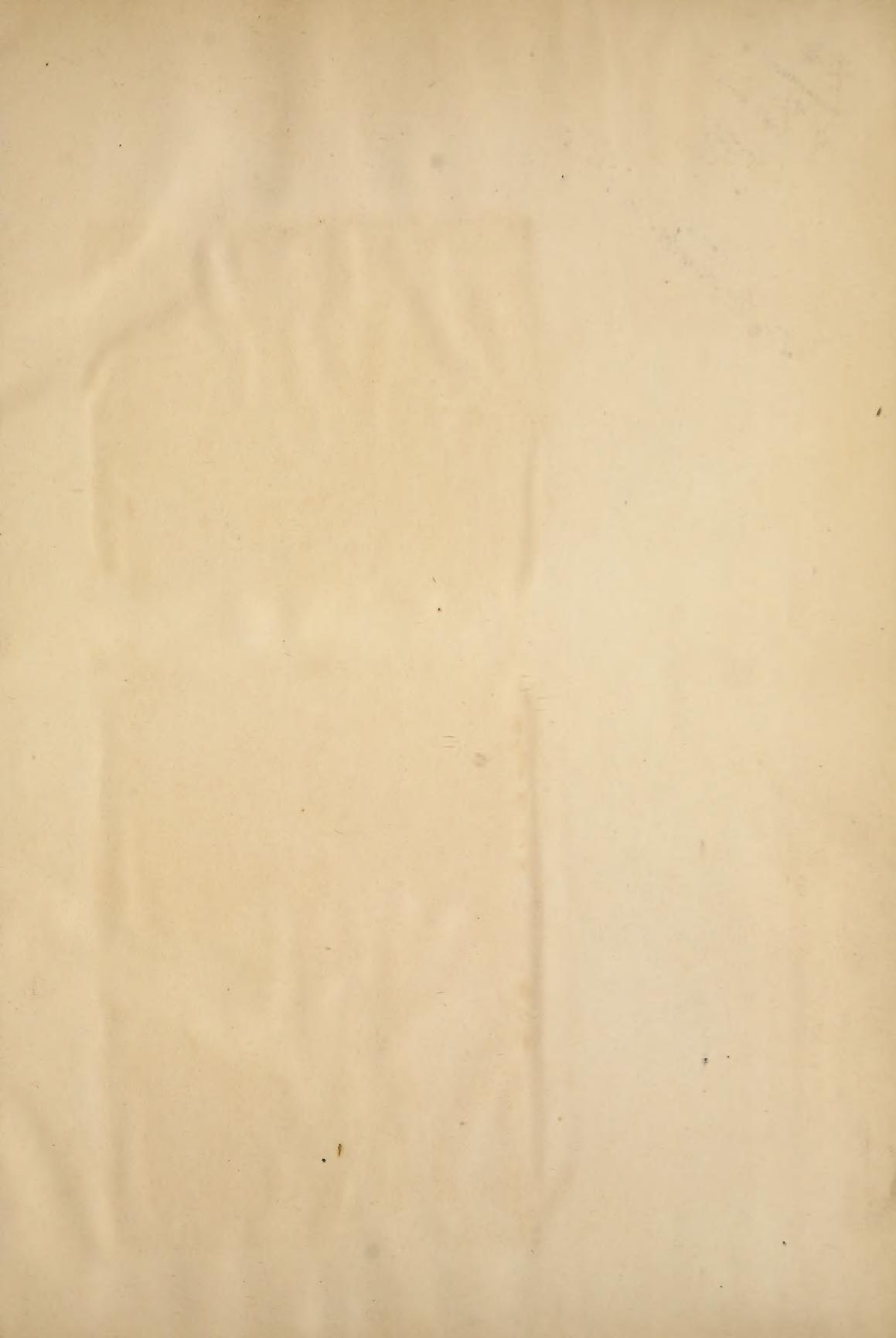




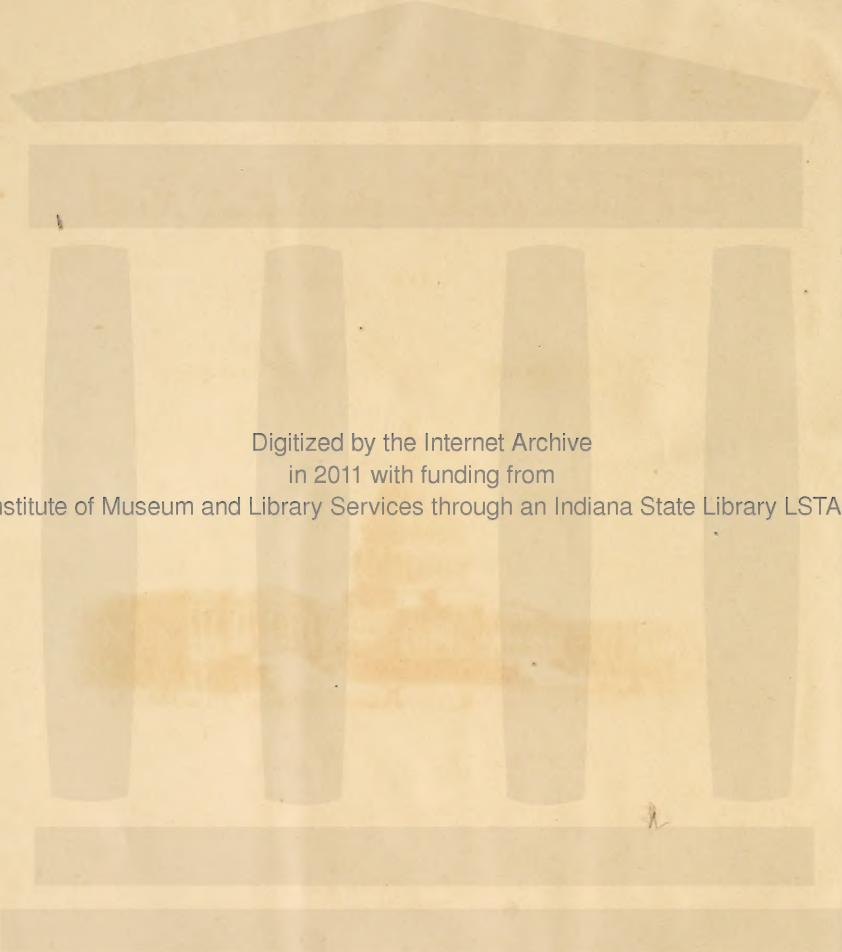
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THE
FORTIETH CONGRESS
OF THE
UNITED STATES

BY

William H. Barnes



PORTRAITS ON STEEL,

BY

George C. Perine



NEW YORK:

1870.



HISTORY OF CONGRESS.

THE

FORTIETH CONGRESS

OF THE

UNITED STATES.

1867-1869.

VOLUME I.

BY WILLIAM HORATIO BARNES, A.M.,

WITH PORTRAITS ON STEEL.

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PREFACE.



THESE volumes delineate the men composing the greatest legislative body in the world. No similar assembly is convened from such extended territory, represents so great a constituency, or possesses powers so immense, as the Congress of the United States.

The Fortieth Congress will not suffer in comparison with any of its predecessors. It exhibited more practical statesmanship, sound wisdom, and effective eloquence than had been displayed by the legislative department in any previous period of American history. It is a popular error to assert that earlier Congresses were composed of men superior to those whose names adorn contemporary annals. With a propensity to revere antiquity, we look backward through a golden haze which magnifies the statesmen of remoter times; but observed carefully with critical eyes, and accurately measured by a modern standard, they lose their gigantic proportions. Thirty years ago but few statesmen exhibited such abilities as many living legislators are now devoting to the public service.

In the preparation of this work it has not been the author's task to single out the Eminent Americans and Men of the Times whose portraits and biographies should adorn these pages. The people themselves made the choice. Out of forty millions they selected those whom they regarded as best fitted for their highest Legislative labors, and thus designated the men of all others most worthy of biographical and artistical illustration.

In presenting this portraiture we hold the mirror up to the people that they may see themselves reflected in their Representative men. They may well be proud to belong to a nation which produces such

men, and feel confident of the high destiny of a country whose interests are confided to such statesmen. Youth who admire the portraits will be spurred to emulative activity when they learn from the biographies that the subjects were the architects of their own fortunes. Nearly all in early life walked the stony path of poverty, and arose to eminence by their unaided energy and talent.

The biographies are plain, unvarnished narratives of facts, unbiased by political attractions or repulsions. They will be found to embody much of national as well as personal history. Concise war-histories of New York, Illinois, Indiana, and Michigan are to be found in the sketches of the late Governors of those States who were members of the Fortieth Congress. A history of the war itself may be gleaned from the military exploits of men who were as valiant in the field as they have since shown themselves wise in council.

The material for the biographical portion of the work has been obtained from sources so numerous and varied that they cannot be particularly designated. Hundreds of letters from persons in public and private life have furnished the author with numerous important facts never before published. Biographical books of reference, State Histories of the Rebellion, numerous pamphlets and newspapers, have afforded valuable material. The sketches generally end abruptly and are necessarily incomplete, from the fact that their subjects, with a few exceptions, are still living to perform other distinguished and useful services.

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THE FORTIETH CONGRESS.



THE Fortieth Congress ranks among the most remarkable legislative bodies of ancient or modern times. The men who composed it, the emergencies in which it was placed, and the measures which it enacted, all contribute to its distinction. It must ever occupy a high historical position by reason of its achievements in continuing the work of Reconstruction begun by its predecessor, and the great struggle which it maintained with the Executive branch of the Government.

The Thirty-ninth Congress closed its labors and its existence at noon, on the 4th of March, 1867. At the same hour, in accordance with a recently enacted law, the Fortieth Congress convened, and proceeded to organize for business. So large a proportion of the members had been re-elected, that the new Congress formed essentially the same body as its predecessor. The membership, however, was not complete, since the States of New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Tennessee, Kentucky, California, and Nebraska, had not yet held their elections, and were not represented in the House. The States of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, and Arkansas were unrepresented, by reason of their failure hitherto to comply with the terms of reconstruction.

Before the House entered upon the regular routine of business, the Democratic members took occasion to enter their "most solemn protest against the organization of the House, until the absent States should be more fully represented."

The Senate was called to order by Hon. Benjamin F. Wade, who had been elected its President *pro tempore* before the close of the

previous Congress. The House of Representatives was organized by the election to the speakership of Hon. Schuyler Colfax, now for the third time the recipient of that high honor.

Congress at once addressed itself to the duty of perfecting the work of Reconstruction. The bill which had been passed over the President's veto, March 2d, was incomplete in not having all the provisions necessary for carrying it into effect in accordance with the purposes of its framers.

Supplementary Reconstruction bills were proposed by Mr. Wilson in the House, and Mr. Trumbull in the Senate. The best features of both having been combined and fully discussed, the perfected bill was finally passed over the President's veto on the 23d of March. In this supplementary bill, directions were given for the due registration of voters, the method of conducting elections, and the mode of calling conventions.

Before the close of the preceding Congress, a conviction had taken possession of many minds that the President, in his career of opposition to the legislative branch of the Government, had been guilty of crimes and misdemeanors which laid him liable to impeachment. On the 7th of January, 1867, Mr. Ashley, of Ohio, offered a resolution, which passed by a vote of 108 to 38, instructing the Judiciary Committee to "inquire into the official conduct of Andrew Johnson," and report whether he had been guilty of "high crimes and misdemeanors, requiring the interposition of the Constitutional power of the House." The Committee to which this question was referred, was unable to complete its investigations before the close of the Thirty-ninth Congress, and the undetermined question of impeachment was handed over to the discussion and action of the Fortieth Congress. In the first session of this Congress its Judiciary Committee was charged with the duty of continuing the investigations, with instructions to report at the second session. Congress adjourned on the 30th of March, making provision for re-assembling on the 3d of July, if the exigencies of Reconstruction or the conduct of the President should make a meeting necessary.

The President manifested extreme unwillingness to execute the Reconstruction laws. He was sustained in his position of hostility to Congress by the opinion of his Attorney-General, which justified him in disregarding the laws recently enacted for the government of the Rebel States. Alarmed by this attitude of the President and his subordinate, Congress re-assembled in full force on the 3d of July, prepared to meet the exigencies of the hour. "The peculiar views," said Mr. Howard in the Senate, "taken by the Attorney-General of the United States of the reconstruction acts of Congress, and the apprehension of the members of this body, at least the majority, that the President of the United States, in the execution of those acts, may or will be governed by the conclusions to which his legal advisers have arrived, have doubtless been the great causes for the re-assembling of Congress."

An additional Reconstruction act was passed over the President's veto on the 19th of July. A practical feature of this bill, which distinguished it from previous acts, was a provision devolving many of the details of the execution of the laws upon the General of the Army, in whose abilities and integrity Congress and the country placed full reliance. That nothing might be left undone to aid in the full restoration of the South, Congress appropriated one million six hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars to defray the necessary expenses of Reconstruction.

The President, in a communication relating to the cost of carrying out the provisions of the Reconstruction bills, stated that if the Federal Government should abolish the existing State governments of the ten States, the United States would be justly responsible for the debts incurred by those States for other purposes than in aid of the rebellion; those debts amounted to at least \$100,000,000. He thought it worthy the consideration of Congress whether the assumption of so great an obligation would not seriously impair the national credit; whether, on the other hand, "the refusal of Congress to guarantee the payment of the debts of those States, after having displaced or abolished their State governments, would not be

viewed as a violation of good faith, and a repudiation by the National Legislature of liabilities which those States had jointly and legally incurred. The House, by a vote of 100 to 18, resolved that this intimation of the liability of the United States for those debts, "is at war with the principles of international law, a deliberate stab at the national credit, abhorrent to every sentiment of loyalty, and well-pleasing only to the traitors by whose agency alone the Governments of said States were overthrown."

When the Fortieth Congress convened for its second session on the 21st of November, 1867, its first important business was to hear a report from the Committee charged with the work of investigating the conduct of the President, with a view to his impeachment. On the 25th of November, Mr. Boutwell presented to the House the report of that Committee, recommending that Andrew Johnson be impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors. On the same day, a minority of the Committee presented a dissenting report recommending that the whole subject be laid on the table, and that the Committee be discharged. Both reports were ordered to be printed, and the subject was made the special order for Wednesday, the 4th of December. On that day the subject was resumed, and after a discussion of three days, was determined against impeachment, fifty-seven voting in the affirmative, and one hundred and eight in the negative. Of those voting in the negative, thirty-nine were Democrats, and sixty-nine were Republicans. The "overt act" was yet to be committed which would consolidate the Republicans to form the Constitutional two-thirds required for the impeachment of the President.

The character of Mr. Johnson's message, delivered to Congress on the 3d of December, was such as to indicate his unmitigated hostility to Congress, and was calculated to fan the unhappy strife between the co-ordinate branches of the Government. There had been some hope that Mr. Johnson, taught by observation and experience that the Congressional plan of reconstruction was that upon which the country had determined, would relax his opposition, and apply him-

self to the duty of executing the laws. His December message dispelled this hope. From the moment this paper was made public, it was evident that a fiercer conflict was impending between the Legislative and Executive branches of the Government.

On the 12th of December, President Johnson transmitted to the Senate a communication setting forth his reasons for suspending Mr. Stanton from the exercise of the functions of Secretary of War. The general ground upon which Mr. Johnson justified his suspension of Mr. Stanton, was, that upon grave and important questions the views of the Secretary of War differed from those of the President. Mr. Johnson, in the case of the Secretary of War, did not admit that he was bound by the Tenure of Office Act, since before he had vetoed it, every member of his Cabinet, including Mr. Stanton, had agreed that it was unconstitutional. So soon as it had been discovered that the differences of policy could not be reconciled, those members of the Cabinet who did not coincide with the President, save Mr. Stanton, had resigned. By Mr. Stanton's continuance in office, "that unity of opinion which, upon great questions of public policy or administration, is so essential to the Executive, was gone." Since Mr. Stanton would not resign to produce this desired unity, Mr. Johnson had been induced to resort to his suspension.

This message was referred to the Military Committee of the Senate, a majority of whom, on the 8th of January, presented an elaborate report controverting the statements and assumptions of the President. The design of the Tenure of Office Act was to prevent the President from making any removals except for mental or moral incapacity, or for some legal disqualification; and then, facts must be proved prior to removals. The constitutionality of the Tenure of Office Bill was maintained. The President had himself recognized it by his action in every case. The Report declared that if the purposes of Mr. Johnson, for which he required the unanimous support of his Cabinet, had been carried out, "the plain intention of Congress in regard to reconstruction in rebel States would have been defeated." The Military Committee said of Mr. Johnson, that "his whole course of

conduct was notoriously in open and violent antagonism to the will of the nation as expressed by the two Houses of Congress. Mr. Stanton, on the other hand, had favored the execution of these laws. He had good reason to believe, and did believe, that if he resigned his post, Mr. Johnson would fill the vacancy by the appointment of some person in accord with himself in his plans of obstruction and resistance to the will of Congress." With reference to the statement by the President that Mr. Stanton had considered the Tenure of Office Bill unconstitutional, and was opposed to its becoming a law, it was said in the report, "It does not follow because a public officer has entertained such an opinion of a proposed measure, he is to carry his notions so far as to treat it as void when formally enacted into a law by a two-thirds vote of each House of Congress." The Committee eulogized Mr. Stanton's conduct in refusing to resign, declaring that "in so doing he consulted both his own duty and the best interests of the country." They recommended the passage of a Resolution by the Senate non-concurring in the suspension of Mr. Stanton. The resolution was adopted by a majority of thirty-five to six. In consequence of this action of the Senate, General Grant ceased to exercise the functions of Secretary of War *ad interim*, and Mr. Stanton resumed the duties of his office.

General Grant incurred the displeasure of the President because he did not resign the Secretaryship into his hands, that he might appoint another, who would prevent Mr. Stanton from resuming the office. The voluminous correspondence which followed, attracted much attention, and revealed in a clear light the characters of the two distinguished disputants. The letters of the President showed that it was his determination to control the Department of War, despite the Tenure of Office Act and the will of the Senate.

In view of the state of things brought to light in this correspondence, Mr. Stevens, on the 13th of February, proposed to the House Committee on Reconstruction, a resolution to impeach the President for high crimes and misdemeanors. The resolution was laid on the table, Messrs. Bingham, Paine, Beaman, Brooks, and Beck, voting in

the affirmative, and Stevens, Boutwell, and Farnsworth, in the negative.

On the twenty-first of February, the President issued an order to Mr. Stanton, removing him from the office of Secretary of War, directing him to surrender all books, papers, and public property of the Department to General Lorenzo Thomas, whom he had appointed Secretary of War *ad interim*. General Thomas immediately presented himself at the War Department and demanded possession. Mr. Stanton refused to surrender the office, and ordered General Thomas to proceed to the apartment which belonged to him as Adjutant-General. This order was not obeyed. Mr. Stanton remained in possession of the War Department, and continued to discharge the functions of the office. At the same time General Thomas was recognized as Secretary by the President, and in that capacity attended the meetings of the Cabinet.

On the 22d of February, Mr. Stevens, as Chairman of the House Committee on Reconstruction, presented a brief report, presenting the fact of the attempted removal of Mr. Stanton by the President, and recommending the passage of a resolution that Andrew Johnson be impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors. An earnest debate ensued, which was closed with a speech written by Mr. Stevens, but read by the Clerk of the House. The veteran Chairman of the Committee and former leader of the House, with a mind still vigorous, found his physical strength insufficient for personal participation in debate. After two days' discussion, on the 24th of February, the Resolution to impeach the President passed the House by a vote of one hundred and twenty-six to forty-seven.

The House also appointed a committee to prepare Articles of Impeachment, consisting of seven members: Messrs. Boutwell, Stevens, Bingham, Wilson, Logan, Julian, and Ward. A committee of two members, Messrs. Stevens and Boutwell, was appointed to notify the Senate of the action of the House—a duty which was performed on the following day. Thereupon the Senate, by a unanimous vote, resolved that the message from the House should be referred to a com-

mittee of seven, to be appointed by the chair. This committee subsequently made a report, laying down the rules of procedure to be observed in the trial.

On the 29th of February, Articles of Impeachment were presented to the House by the Committee which had been charged with that duty. After slight modification, these, with two additional articles, were adopted, on the 4th of March. The votes on the different articles slightly varied, the average being 125 yeas to 40 nays. The House then elected the following members to be Managers to conduct the Impeachment before the Senate: Messrs. Bingham, Boutwell, Wilson, Butler, Williams, Logan, and Stevens.

The Democratic members abstained from voting in the election of Managers. They entered a formal protest against the whole course of proceedings involved in the impeachment of the President. While taking this step, they claimed to represent, "directly or in principles, more than one-half of the people of the United States." On the fifth of March the Articles of Impeachment were presented to the Senate by the Managers, who were accompanied by the House of Representatives, the grand inquest of the nation. Mr. Bingham, the Chairman of the Managers, read the Articles of Impeachment.

The Court, consisting of fifty-four Senators, presided over by the Chief-Justice, was organized on Thursday, the 5th of March. The oath was administered to Chief-Justice Chase by Associate-Justice Nelson. The Chief-Justice then administered the oath to the Senators present, except Mr. Wade, whose eligibility as a member of the court was challenged on the ground that he was a party interested, since in the event of the impeachment being sustained, he, as President of the Senate, would succeed to the Presidency of the United States. After a discussion of several hours, the objection was withdrawn, and Mr. Wade was sworn as a member of the Court. On the 7th, Mr. Brown, the Sergeant-at-Arms of the Senate, served upon the President the summons to appear before the bar of the High Court of Impeachment, and answer to the Articles of Impeachment.

The trial commenced on Friday, the 13th of March, the President

appearing by his counsel, Henry Stanberry, Benjamin R. Curtis, William M. Evarts, Thomas A. R. Nelson, and William S. Groesbeck. Application was made by the President, through his counsel, for forty days in which to prepare his answer to the indictment. The Senate refused so much time, and granted ten days, ordering that the trial should be resumed on the 23d. Upon that day the President appeared by his counsel, and presented his answer to the Articles of Impeachment. His answer was a general denial of each and every criminal act charged in the Articles of Impeachment. The counsel for the President then asked for a further delay of the trial for thirty days after the replication of the Managers of the Impeachment should be rendered. This was refused, and the Managers, indicating their purpose to present their replication on the following day, it was ordered that the trial should be suspended only until Monday, the 30th of March, and then proceed "with all dispatch." The replication presented by the Managers was a simple denial of each and every averment in the answer of the President.

On the 30th of March, the opening speech on the part of the House of Representatives was made by Mr. Butler. The remainder of the week was occupied by the presentation of documentary and oral testimony on the part of the prosecution. On Saturday, April 4th, the Managers announced that the case on their part was substantially closed. The counsel for the President then asked for three working days in which to prepare for the defense. The Senate granted their request, and adjourned to meet as a Court of Impeachment on Thursday, April 9th. The trial being resumed on the day appointed, Mr. Curtis delivered the opening speech for the defense. At the conclusion of this address, the testimony for the President, both oral and documentary, was presented.

The testimony in the case having closed on Monday, April 20, the Court adjourned until the following Wednesday, when the final arguments were commenced. Oral arguments were presented by each of the President's counsel, and all of the Managers for the prosecution except Mr. Logan, who filed his in writing. The argument was

closed for the defense by Mr. Evarts, and for the prosecution by Mr. Bingham, each of whom occupied three days in his address. The delivery of the arguments occupied a fortnight, ending on the 6th of May. On the following day, the mode of procedure having been determined, the Court adjourned until the 11th, when it re-assembled with closed doors for deliberation. Two days were occupied with these deliberations, during the course of which several Senators delivered elaborate opinions upon the case.

Saturday, May 6th, was fixed upon as the day when the vote should be taken. It was ordered by the Senate that the vote should be taken on the eleventh article first. The name of each Senator being called in alphabetical order, thirty-five voted "guilty," and nineteen "not guilty." The former were Messrs. Anthony, Cameron, Cattell, Chandler, Cole, Conkling, Conness, Corbett, Cragin, Drake, Edmunds, Ferry, Frelinghuysen, Harlan, Howard, Howe, Morgan, Morrill (of Maine), Morrill (of Vermont), Morton, Nye, Patterson (of New Hampshire), Pomeroy, Ramsey, Sherman, Sprague, Stewart, Sumner, Thayer, Tipton, Wade, Willey, Williams, Wilson, Yates.

Those voting "not guilty" were Messrs. Bayard, Buckalew, Davis, Dixon, Doolittle, Fessenden, Fowler, Grimes, Henderson, Hendricks, Johnson, M'Creery, Norton, Patterson (of Tennessee), Ross, Saulsbury, Trumbull, Van Winkle, Vickers.

Two-thirds of the Senate having failed to vote in favor of conviction, the Chief-Justice formally announced that the President was acquitted on the eleventh article. The Court was then adjourned until Tuesday, the 26th of May. On that day votes were taken on the second and third articles, on which the President was acquitted by the same vote which had been given on the eleventh article. The Senate sitting as a High Court of Impeachment then adjourned *sine die*.

During the trial of the Impeachment, but little was done in the way of general legislation. The House was officially present in the Chamber of the Senate while that body was sitting as a Court of Impeachment. Although it usually convened after the adjournment of the Court, it was understood to be for the pur-

pose of debate rather than of action. During the days when the court was adjourned or in private session, some important measures were acted upon in the House. Among them were bills relating to certain of the late rebel States. Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Florida, had formed Constitutions in accordance with the Act for the more efficient government of the rebel States, passed March 2, 1867. Bills passed the House in May, and the Senate in June, admitting these States to representation, so soon as they should respectively have ratified the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution, upon the fundamental condition that these States should never discriminate in favor of, or against, any class of citizens now entitled to vote, except as punishment for such crimes as are now felonies at common law; and no person shall be held to service or labor as punishment for crime, except by public officers charged with the custody of convicts. The bills admitting these States on such conditions to representation were returned by the President without his signature, and were promptly passed over the veto by more than the required two-thirds.

On the 22d of June, Messrs. McDonald and Rice, Senators elect from Arkansas, appeared at the bar of the Senate and were sworn in. On the day following, Messrs. Boles, Hinds, and Roots were admitted to the House as representatives from Arkansas. Senators and Representatives from the other reconstructed States were sworn in at later dates.

All the Democratic members of the House, forty-five in number, entered a solemn protest against "the recognized presence of these persons on the floor of the House from the State of Arkansas, sent here by military force, acting under a brigadier-general of the army, but nevertheless claiming to be members of this Congress, and to share with us, the representatives of free States, in the imposition of taxes, and customs, and other laws upon our people. We protest against the now proposed co-partnership of military dictators and negroes in the administration of this Government."

A concurrent resolution was adopted by both Houses on the 21st

of July, stating that the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution, which had been proposed by the Thirty-ninth Congress, had been adopted by more than three-fourths of the States, and had thus become a part of the Constitution. On the 28th of July the Secretary of State issued his official declaration that the said Amendment had become valid to all intents and purposes as a part of the Constitution of the United States.

That the political status of the colored man might be for ever settled, another Amendment to the Constitution was proposed by the Fortieth Congress providing that "The right of the citizens of the United States to vote, shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." This crowning act of the Fortieth Congress was passed in the House, February 25, 1869, by one hundred and forty-three to forty-three, and in the Senate on the following day by thirty-nine to twelve.

The labors of the Fortieth Congress were not only devoted to the restoration of the original States, but to extending the Government over new regions. A bill was passed organizing the Territory of Wyoming. Another act appropriated \$7,200,000 to pay for Alaska, and extended the laws of the United States over that country.

Circumstances seeming to demand legislation for the protection of American citizens abroad, the House of Representatives instructed its Committee on Foreign Affairs to inquire and report whether any American citizens had been arrested, tried, and convicted in Great Britain or Ireland, for words spoken or acts done in the United States. Mr. Banks, Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, presented a report upon the general question of the rights of naturalized American citizens, and proposed a bill, which after amendment by the Senate became a law. It provides that all naturalized citizens of the United States, while in foreign states, shall be entitled to, and shall receive from this Government, the same protection of persons and property that is accorded to native-born citizens in like situation and circumstances. That whenever it shall be made known to the President that any citizen of the United States has been unjustly deprived of

his liberty by or under the authority of any foreign Government, it shall be the duty of the President forthwith to demand of that Government the reasons for such imprisonment; and if it appears to be wrongful and in violation of the rights of American citizenship, the President shall forthwith demand the release of such citizen; and if the release so demanded is unreasonably delayed or refused, it shall be the duty of the President to use such means, not amounting to acts of war, as he may think necessary and proper to obtain or effectuate such release, and all the facts and proceedings relative thereto shall as soon as practicable be communicated by the President to Congress.

In the attempt to better the condition of citizens at home, Congress passed a bill providing that "Eight hours shall constitute a day's work for all laborers, mechanics, and workmen now employed, or who may hereafter be employed by, or in behalf of the Government of the United States."

The Fortieth Congress was not deficient in the performance of its duty to legislate in behalf of races long deprived of civil and political rights. Early in the existence of the Fortieth Congress, a law was enacted providing that in the District of Columbia no person should be disqualified from holding office on account of race or color.

Congress ordered that the Freedman's Bureau be continued until July 16, 1869, and ordered the Secretary of War to re-establish the Bureau where it had been discontinued, if the personal safety of the freedmen required it, and to discontinue it where its necessity no longer existed, and providing that the educational division should not be interfered with until a State made suitable provision for the education of the children of the freedmen within the State.

A bill was passed to establish peace with Indian tribes, providing that commissioners should be appointed to select a district sufficient to receive all the tribes east of the Rocky Mountains, not living peacefully on reservations; that the district should contain sufficient arable and grazing land to enable them to support themselves by agricultural and pastoral pursuits; the district to remain a permanent home for the tribes exclusively, and to be so located as not to inter-

fer with the travel on highways located by authority of the United States, nor with the routes of the Pacific Railroads.

The Fortieth Congress exempted all cotton grown in the United States after 1867 from Internal Revenue tax, and reduced the tax on manufactures to such an extent as to diminish the Revenue \$60,000,000. The tax on whiskey was reduced to fifty cents per gallon. Illicit distilleries were made liable to forfeit, their owners being subject to fine and imprisonment.

Inharmonious relations continued to exist between President Johnson and Congress to the last. The President sent in numerous nominations to the Senate that were immediately rejected. The most remarkable instance was that of the mission to Austria, which had been resigned by Mr. Motley. The President successively nominated ex-Senator Cowan of Pennsylvania, General Frank P. Blair, ex-Senator Nesmith of Oregon, and Henry J. Raymond, who were all rejected by the Senate. Reverdy Johnson, Senator from Maryland, was confirmed by a unanimous vote as Minister to England. Mr. Stanberry, who had resigned the position of Attorney-General for the purpose of defending the President in the Impeachment Trial, was renominated and was rejected. Mr. Evarts of the President's counsel was subsequently nominated for the same office, and was confirmed. Near the close of the Fortieth Congress the Senate informally resolved that, except in cases of urgent necessity, no nomination to office made by President Johnson would be acted upon.

The President's message, transmitted at the beginning of the last session of the Fortieth Congress, was more hostile in its tone than any that had preceded it. He made severe charges against Congress and its legislation. "The various laws," said he, "which have been passed upon the subject of reconstruction, after a fair trial, have substantially failed, and proved pernicious in their results." He charged that, "one hundred million dollars were annually expended for the military force, a large portion of which is employed in the execution of laws both unnecessary and unconstitutional." He proposed a plan for paying the public debt by repudiating the principal. His message was denounced in both Houses as a disrespectful and off-

sive document. In the Senate its reading was interrupted by adjournment, but was resumed the following day. That portion relating to the National Debt was made the subject of special animadversion, and resolutions disapproving and condemning it were passed in both branches.

Many propositions were brought before the Fortieth Congress, from first to last, relating to the National Finances. At the very outset Mr. Edmunds proposed in the Senate a joint resolution, to the effect that, except in the cases when other provision was expressly made, the public debt is owing in coin or its equivalent.

Another prominent financial scheme was presented by Senator Morrill, providing that, after the 4th of July, 1869, the Secretary of the Treasury should pay in coin all United States legal tender notes not bearing interest, and that after the same date all National Banks should be required to pay in coin all their circulating notes of \$5, and under, and all of a higher denomination in coin or legal tender notes. In July, 1868, a bill was proposed for funding the National Securities, providing that the holders of bonds paying 7.30 may exchange them for new bonds at 3.65 running forty years, principal and interest payable in gold, the bonds and interest to be free from all taxation. This bill passed both Houses, but at so late a day that it was held by the President until after the adjournment and thus failed to become a law. A bill was proposed by Mr. Sumner, providing for a return to specie payments July 4, 1869, and for funding the National Debt at a lower rate of interest. A bill was proposed by Mr. Morton, designed to render at as early a date as possible the currency convertible into, and therefore of equal value with, gold. A directly opposite plan was proposed by General Butler in the House, looking to the indefinite prolongation of paper currency. No definite and final action was reached upon any of the financial plans proposed. It was thought proper to defer action upon these important questions until such time as the Legislative and Executive Departments of the Government should be in harmony.

JOSEPH C. ABBOTT.

OSEPH CARTER ABBOTT, a son of Aaron Abbott, an intelligent farmer of Concord, New Hampshire, was born July 15, 1825. He early evinced a decided taste for literary pursuits, rather than the labors of the home farm. Obtaining a good academical education, and subsequently a suitable training for the bar, he was admitted to the practice of law in 1852. While pursuing his professional studies—his tastes leading him into the field of politics as well as of general literature—he was employed for several months as editor of the “Manchester American,” and, during the last six months of his legal course, as editor of the “New Hampshire Statesman,” at Concord. In May, 1852, soon after his admission to the bar, he returned to Manchester and became permanent proprietor of the “American” and was its editor until disposing of the establishment in 1857. The practice of law having but few attractions for him, Mr. Abbott, in May, 1859, became editor and proprietor of the “Boston Atlas,” which he conducted for two years, still continuing his family residence at Manchester. In politics a decided Whig, he was early a member of the New Hampshire State Central Committee, and for a time its chairman; and also chairman of the committee that reported the resolutions in the Whig Presidential Convention of New Hampshire, in 1852.

In July, 1855, Gen. Abbott received the appointment of adjutant-general of the State of New Hampshire, which he resigned in 1861. While in this office he was instrumental in effecting a more thorough organization of the State militia—feeling that in time of peace we should prepare for war—and for this purpose he drafted and secured the enactment of an elaborate bill, which is, in its main features, the present Militia Law of New Hampshire.



Joseph le Abbott

1835-1891

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Although the State authorities were, at the time, making a heavy draft on its available men, in organizing, for purposes of the existing war, four regiments of infantry, a battery, a company of sharp shooters, and a battalion of cavalry, still, in September, 1861, Gen. Abbott obtained authority from the War Department to raise a regiment of infantry in New Hampshire. This he early determined should be under thorough military command, and prove a model regiment. By persevering effort he was successful in raising the requisite number of men, and fixed the headquarters of his regiment—well known as the 7th New Hampshire—at Manchester. He did not seek for himself the chief command, but accepted the lieutenant-colonelcy—suggesting and urging for appointment as colonel, Lieutenant H. S. Putnam, who had received a military education at West Point, and had already seen some service in the field. These commissions were accordingly issued by the governor.

In the early part of 1863, Col. Putnam was assigned to the command of a brigade, and Lieut.-Col. Abbott succeeded to the command of the 7th Regiment. Under his command, at the assault on Fort Wagner, July 18, 1863, where Col. Putnam was killed, the 7th Regiment suffered a loss of 212 officers and men, killed and wounded. Almost immediately upon this, Lieut.-Col. Abbott was promoted to be colonel of the regiment, and continued in command, through several severe battles and marches, until the engagement at Drury's Bluff, in May, 1864, when, by reason of the sickness of the brigade commander, Col. Abbott succeeded to his place; and, after this, for nearly all the time until the close of the war, he remained in the command of a brigade. At the capture of Fort Fisher, in North Carolina, he distinguished himself in such command; and in January, 1865, was "appointed Brigadier-General of U. S. Volunteers, by brevet, for gallant services" on that occasion. Gen. Abbott was mustered out of the United States service with his regiment, returned with it to New Hampshire, and was honorably discharged in August, 1865.

Soon after leaving the service, Mr. Abbott purchased valuable

timber lands in North Carolina, and removed to Wilmington, near the scene of his last gallant exploits, where he engaged actively in land and lumber business, although still retaining his connection with a partner in the law. He was an influential member of the North Carolina Constitutional Convention, which met at Raleigh in November, 1867, taking an active part in its deliberations, and making several able speeches; showing throughout an intimate knowledge of political affairs, and a deep interest in the concerns of his adopted State. In April, 1868, he was chosen as a Republican Representative in the State Legislature, and in July following was elected by that body United States Senator from North Carolina.

Of strong native sense, and of sound judgment in political matters, Mr. Abbott was well fitted for his editorial duties, and discharged them with good taste, tact, and ability. Kind and courteous in disposition, he would not needlessly offend a political opponent, while at the same time he would not sacrifice principle to expediency in conciliating opposition. Writing with clearness of thought, without any inflation of style, his editorial services were well appreciated as a literary and miscellaneous as well as political writer. In the military service, whether as a regimental or brigade commander, he was distinguished for prudent care of the troops under his command, not rashly urging them forward where he was not willing, fearless of consequences, to go himself. Cool and deliberate in judgment, he was brave and earnest in action, and proved himself scrupulously faithful in the discharge of every duty.

Mr. Abbott is about six feet in height, of a compact and solid frame. With dark eyes and complexion, regular rather than prominent features, and a handsomely rounded contour of visage, his face has none of the wrinkles of age, nor his hair much of the touch of gray. His expression of countenance, when in repose, indicates great kindness and benevolence of character; but his eye gives token that, when roused by proper excitement to action, the will "to do and to dare" will never be wanting.



W. B. Anthony

W. B. Anthony
1830-1890

HENRY B. ANTHONY.



HENRY B. ANTHONY was born of Quaker ancestors, in Coventry, Rhode Island, April 1, 1815. He graduated at Brown University, in 1833, and adopted the profession of journalism, in which he was successful. In 1838, he assumed the editorial charge of the "Providence Journal," which he retained for many years. During the period of his editorial supervision, that newspaper had much influence in moulding the politics and the public opinion of the State of Rhode Island. It was an emphatic testimony to his editorial success and his general ability, that he was in 1849 elected Governor of Rhode Island. He served with success, and was re-elected, but declined re-election for a third term. Retiring from official life, he devoted himself with renewed ardor and enlarging influence to his profession.

In 1858 he was elected a Senator in Congress from Rhode Island, and took his seat on the fourth of March ensuing, for the term ending in 1865. He served with efficiency on the floor of the Senate, and as Chairman of the Committee on Printing. He was re-elected to the Senate for the term ending in 1871, again serving as Chairman of the Committee on Printing, and as a member of the Committees on Claims, Naval Affairs, Mines and Mining, and Post Offices. At the opening of the Forty-first Congress he was elected President of the Senate *pro tempore*.

Mr. Anthony is recognized among the most radical of the Republican members of the Senate. He has stood almost alone in the Senate as an advocate of woman suffrage.

As a Senator he has much influence, consequent upon his ability in debate, and large experience in public affairs. He has dignified bearing and commanding presence, with regular features, florid complexion, and a profusion of iron-gray hair.

JAMES A. BAYARD.

AMES A. BAYARD is a native of Delaware, and son of a statesman of the same name who was a United States Senator in 1804, a minister to France, and one of the commissioners who negotiated the treaty of Ghent. An elder brother, Richard H. Bayard, was a Senator in Congress from 1836 to 1839, and again from 1841 to 1845. The subject of this sketch took a seat in the Senate from Delaware in 1851; was re-elected in 1857, and was again re-elected in 1863, but resigned January 29, 1864. Upon the death of George Read Riddle, he was appointed to fill the vacancy in the Senate, and took his seat April 1, 1867. His service closed at the end of the Fortieth Congress, when he gave place to his son, seeking in the shades of private life the quiet scenes better befitting his advanced years than the tumultuous arena of politics.

During the Fortieth Congress Mr. Bayard served on the Committees on Foreign Relations, Private Land Claims, and Revision of the United States Laws. Among his remarks at different times in the Senate was a speech on the organization of that body as Court of Impeachment, wherein he took strong ground against the presiding officer, Mr. Wade, acting as a member of the Court. He spoke against the bill for the readmission of North Carolina, and steadily opposed the reconstruction measures, and the general policy of Congress for the re-establishment of the government over the rebellious States. By birth, by education and association, he was led to sympathize with the South, and to act with the opposers of the government, although his impaired faculties prevented his opposition from being vigorous or effectual.

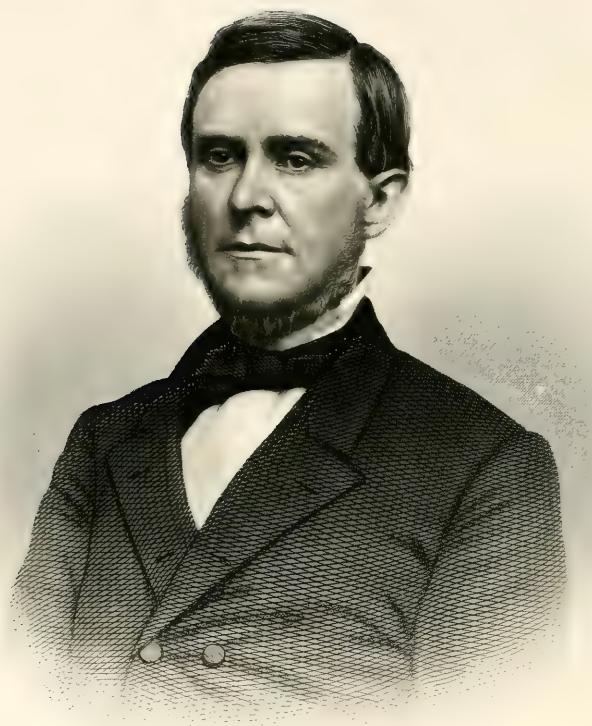


Fig. 1. - τ_{max} vs. τ_{max} for $\text{Pb}_2\text{Pb}_3\text{O}_6$.

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CHARLES R. BUCKALEW.



CHARLES R. BUCKALEW was born in Columbia County, Pennsylvania, December 28, 1821. He is of French descent, his ancestors having emigrated to this country on occasion of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. His father and grandfather were private citizens, undistinguished by wealth or position.

We have but scanty information concerning Mr. Buckalew in his boyhood, whether in respect to his youthful occupations, the extent of his educational advantages, or other circumstances of interest. He once narrowly escaped drowning, when he was the subject of those peculiar mental experiences which are thought to indicate for the soul a future existence independent of the body.

Mr. Buckalew adopted the profession of law, and was admitted to practice in 1843. From 1845 to 1847, he was Prosecuting Attorney for his native County, and from 1850 to 1856 was a Senator in the Pennsylvania Legislature. Meanwhile, he served also as a Commissioner to exchange the ratification of a treaty with the Government of Paraguay; and was, in 1856, a Senatorial Presidential Elector. In 1857, he was Chairman of the State Democratic Committee, was re-elected to the State Senate, and was appointed a Commissioner to revise the Penal Code of Pennsylvania. In 1858, he resigned the two latter positions, and was appointed by President Buchanan Resident Minister to Ecuador, whence he returned in 1861. In 1863 he was elected a Senator in Congress from Pennsylvania, by a majority of one vote, for the term ending in 1869.

Mr. Buckalew is not so frequent a speaker as many in the Senate, and yet he is not silent in that great national council. In the com-

inception of his speech on the "Basis of Representation," February 21, 1865, he remarked that he had previously refrained from speech-making, supposing that "while the passions of the country were influenced by the war, reason could not be heard." And he took occasion to express regret that "questions pertaining to the war still occupied the attention of Congress to the exclusion of those connected with economy, revenue, finance, ordinary legislation, and the administration of justice—questions which require intelligence, investigation, labor, and the habits of the student."

As an argument for changing the basis of representation as it existed, Mr. Buckalew gave statistical details showing the various ratios of representation in the Senate, as possessed respectively by the East, West, and South. He maintained that New England had too great a preponderance of power in the Senate, both as to membership and the chairmanship of committees. "While," said he, "the population of the East is less than one-seventh of the population of the States represented in the Senate, she has the chairmanship of one-third of the committees. The chairmanship of a committee is a position of much influence and power. The several distinguished gentlemen holding that position have virtual control over the transaction of business, both in Committee and in the Senate."

Mr. Buckalew thus presented the effect of restoration of representation to the Southern States upon the relative position of New England: "Twenty-two Senators from the Southern States, and two from Colorado—being double the number of those from the East—would reduce the importance of the latter in the Senate, and remit her back to the condition in which she stood in her relations to the Union before the war. True, she would even then possess much more than her proportion of weight in the Senate, regard being had to her population; but she would no longer dominate or control the Government of the United States."



Simon Cameron

HON. SIMON CAMERON.

SIMON CAMERON.

 SIMON CAMERON was born in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, March 8th, 1799, and was left an orphan at nine years of age. He educated himself while pursuing his employment as a printer in Harrisburg and in Washington City. He edited and published a paper, called the "Pennsylvania Intelligencer," at Doylestown, and subsequently, before he reached the age of twenty-two, he was editor of a newspaper published at Harrisburg. In 1832 he established the Middletown Bank. He devoted much attention to the railroad interests of Pennsylvania, and became president of two railroad companies.

Before reaching the age of thirty he was appointed by Governor Shultz, Adjutant-General of Pennsylvania. In 1845 he was elected United States Senator for four years.

Retiring from office in 1849, he resumed active business, and devoted himself to internal improvements and financial affairs. In 1857 he was again elected to the United States Senate for six years, but resigned in 1861 to become Secretary of War under President Lincoln. In this position he favored the most vigorous measures for prosecuting the war, and insisted on arming the negroes. These views being at variance with those of the Administration, he retired from the Cabinet, and accepted the appointment of Minister Plenipotentiary to Russia. On his arrival at St. Petersburg, he found the Czar engaged in the noble work of emancipating the serfs, and his first act was to congratulate him for doing that justice which our country could not then be induced to do, predicting at the same time that events would force this nation to follow his great example. During his stay at St. Petersburg, the unbroken and continuous news of Federal disasters strengthened his fear that the policy of the Gov-

ernment foreboded ruin, and deeming it yet possible to impress his views on the Administration, and believing that the salvation of the country depended on a change of policy, he resigned his office and hastened home to take an active part in the mighty struggle. The Government would not yet yield to the growing pressure for vigorous measures, and he threw himself into the work of recruiting the Federal army, and supporting the Union cause in Pennsylvania and the loyal States. At last, the negroes were accepted for soldiers, and, finding that the work of their enlistment was unpopular, he offered his services to Mr. Lincoln to recruit a brigade of negro soldiers for the war, and lead them. His offer being declined, he continued to devote himself to the Union cause, to the utmost of his ability, until the end of the war. In 1867 he was elected for the third time to the Senate of the United States, for the term ending in 1873, and taking his seat in that body he was placed on the Committees on Foreign Relations, Military Affairs, and Ordnance, and was made Chairman of the Committee on Agriculture. He was steadfast in his opposition to the policy of the late Executive, and voted for conviction in the great Impeachment Trial.

He was one of the founders of the Republican party, and, in 1860, was prominent as a candidate for nomination to the Presidency. Whether in the cabinet, on diplomatic duty, or in senatorial service, he has been unswerving in his adherence to Republican principles. If not unanimously allowed the highest rank in statesmanship, he is acknowledged to be unsurpassed in shrewdness as a politician. Eminently successful as a financier, he uses his wealth with great public spirit and liberality in promoting worthy ends.



Alpheus Hyatt

ALEXANDER G. CATTELL.

OW that great financial problems, which concern the honor and even life of the nation, are to be solved, it is fortunate that there are men in the halls of National Legislation whose ability to grapple with such questions has been proven by their success in private business.

Such a man is Alexander G. Cattell, Senator from New Jersey. He was born at Salem, New Jersey, February 12, 1816. The town of Salem was the residence of his ancestors for more than a century. There lived his patriotic grandfather, who in the war of the Revolution was singled out as a special object of British vengeance on account of his conspicuous devotion to the American cause. One day as he was plowing in the field, the breeze of the morning wafted across the Delaware the thunder of the cannon of the battle of the Brandywine. Turning his horses loose, he went quickly to his house, took down his fowling piece, rowed across the river, and, like John Brown at Gettysburg, took post in the ranks and poured his fire into the enemy. His son, the father of Alexander G. Cattell, inherited the spirit and principles of his Revolutionary sire. He was for half a century a successful merchant, and recently died, greatly respected, at the age of nearly fourscore years.

Mr. Cattell being designed for mercantile business, received such an education as was deemed necessary for that pursuit forty years ago. At the age of thirteen he was placed behind the counter of his father's store, where he advanced, before he had attained his majority, to the head of a large and flourishing business of his own.

At the age of twenty-four, Mr. Cattell was elected to the Legisla-

ture of New Jersey, and in 1844 was a member of the Convention called to revise the State Constitution. Although the youngest member of that body, which embraced the leading men of the State, he was second to none in ability and influence. Distinguished for sound common sense, a choice command of language, and a graceful and forcible delivery, he never rose to speak without commanding the respectful attention, and generally securing the conviction of his auditors.

While success crowned his commercial operations in his native town, he possessed capabilities for a career of enterprise and competition in a more extensive field. Accordingly, in 1846, he removed to Philadelphia, where he entered into mercantile business, first with Mr. E. G. James, and afterwards with his brother, Mr. Elijah G. Cattell. He soon became extensively engaged in the shipment of grain and other produce to foreign markets. He soon became a prominent member, and afterwards President, of the Corn Exchange Association of Philadelphia, which won honorable eminence among the business boards of that city for its public spirit and patriotic devotion to the interests of the country. The Association is composed of many of the most liberal and wealthy merchants of Philadelphia. Through their enterprise, energy, and sagacious management, the grain trade of that city was developed, until it has become a commercial interest of the greatest magnitude.

The Corn Exchange became conspicuous, at the outbreak of the civil war, as a pre-eminently loyal body of citizens. When the news reached Philadelphia that the rebellion of the South had culminated in the attack on Fort Sumter, the Association then assembled for their daily business laid aside their "samples," and raising the flag of the country in front of their hall, pledged themselves to keep it floating till the rebellion should be subdued, and the honor of that flag vindicated. They contributed largely to aid in the enlistment of men, and the support of the families of such as went to fight the battles of the country. The Association recruited, organized, and equipped two and a half regiments for the field. Mr. Cattell was chair-

man of the special committee under whose supervision the patriotic service was performed.

As a testimonial of the esteem in which Mr. Cattell was held by his associates in this work, they voted that when the old flag-staff at the camp, around which their regiments had rallied, was taken down, it should be planted on the grounds of his country seat. When this was done, a magnificent flag was presented to him with interesting and appropriate ceremonies.

During the war for the suppression of the Rebellion, Mr. Cattell gave to Mr. Lincoln's administration the utmost support of his talents, money, and influence. Few enjoyed to a greater degree the respect and confidence of that great and good man.

During Mr. Cattell's residence in Philadelphia he was several times a member of both branches of the municipal government. As a legislator for the city he ever had a careful regard for the great public and private interests intrusted to his care.

No mercantile house in Philadelphia has stood higher than that of A. G. Cattell & Co. in a character for the enterprise and integrity that form the basis of commercial success. Mr. Cattell had other business connections, first as Director of the Mechanics' Bank, and then as President of the Corn Exchange Bank, proving himself to be an able financier, fully meeting the expectations which were formed of his character and talents from his previous career.

In 1855 Mr. Cattell resumed his residence in his native State, making his home in an elegant villa about three miles from the city of Camden, where he now resides.

In 1866 Mr. Cattell was elected a Senator in Congress from New Jersey. "The esteem in which he is held by those who know him best," says Rev. Dr. Carrow, one of his biographers, "may be inferred from the fact that, at the last regular session of the Legislature, the Republican members refused to go into an election rather than fail to secure his triumph. In this case the members were influenced not so much by personal partialities as by their conviction of his pre-eminent fitness for the great post of a Senator in Congress in these critical times."

Senator Cattell, by his course in Congress, has shown that the confidence of his party was not misplaced. He has been firm, consistent, and able in his support of the principles he avows.

Since he took his seat in the Senate, December 3, 1866, the voice and vote of Mr. Cattell have been given in favor of all the great measures of public policy which have given to Congress so prominent a place in the history of the country. Mr. Cattell's speeches abound in facts and figures so combined as to be most effective in argument. At the same time his speeches are not devoid of rhetorical beauties calculated to charm the most indifferent hearer.

To illustrate this, and at the same time give a hint of Mr. Cattell's views concerning the results of the war, we quote the closing paragraphs of his speech, delivered in the Senate January 22, 1867, on a "Bill to Provide Increased Revenue from Imports:"

"The conflict is ended, and, God be praised, the right has triumphed; and having thus elevated four million human beings from chains and slavery to freedom and to manhood, let us address ourselves to the work of stimulating the industrial energies of the nation, so that free labor shall find its wonted employment, and receive its just reward.

"Perfect this bill, and then make it a law, and hope and courage will spring up throughout the nation. The fires of a thousand forges, and mills, and furnaces, will illumine the land, and the ceaseless hum of a million whirling spindles will chant the praises of the American Congress that had the wisdom to understand, and the fidelity to maintain the principles of the American system."



Engraved by J. L. Smith.

Z. Chandler

HON. ZACHARIAH CHANDLER.

ZACHARIAH CHANDLER.



ZACHARIAH CHANDLER is a native of Bedford, N. H., and was born Dec. 10, 1813. He received an academical education in addition to the usual school training given to New England boys.

As is common with such boys, he worked upon the farm until sixteen or seventeen years old. In the course of his youth he taught school two or three winters; and in 1833, when twenty-two years of age, he emigrated to Michigan, and engaged in mercantile business in Detroit. The country was then new, and Detroit was a town of but about 4,000 inhabitants.

Mr. Chandler is one of those fortunate men of the West who have grown up with the country. He commenced, at first, a small retail dry-goods store, but was soon enabled by a prosperous trade to enlarge his business to a wholesale trade, and extended, in course of time, his operations to all parts of the surrounding country, so that there were few of all the retail dealers in Northern and Western Michigan, Northern Ohio and Indiana, and in Western Canada, who were not numbered among his customers.

Mr. Chandler was a Whig in politics, but seems never to have sought for political honor, choosing, rather, to set the example of accepting office as an incident of the success of his party, than to strive for it as a primary object. His first official position was that of Mayor of Detroit, to which office he was elected in 1851. Here he served acceptably, and the following year was nominated for Governor of the State. His strong anti-slavery convictions, however, were brought into the canvass, and he preferred to be what he deemed right, than

to be Governor. In denouncing the institution of slavery as the great curse of the nation, he lost the election. The progress of anti-slavery sentiment in Michigan was such that in 1856 he was elected to the Senate of the United States for six years, and took his seat on the 4th of March of that year.

During the important period of his first term in the United States Senate, Mr. Chandler was identified with all the leading measures of Congress for a general system of internal improvements—for preventing a further increase of slave territory, and for the overthrow of the powerful domination of the slave power, which had usurped the control of the nation. He was one of the few Northern men in the Senate at that time who foresaw the tendency of events, and that the country was drifting onward to a terrible war.

Mr. Chandler opposed all the so-called compromise measures of the South, as the virtual surrender of the liberties of the people. In all the Senatorial contests of that period, he stands on record as the unflinching defender of liberty, and the fearless advocate of the doctrines of the Declaration of Independence. These great doctrines he maintained by speech and vote in the Senate and before the people; and if an appeal to arms should be necessary, he welcomed the arbitration of war.

“The country,” writes one of Mr. Chandler’s admirers, “does not now appreciate how much it owes to his Roman firmness. The people have become too much accustomed to regard him as one of the great fortresses of their liberties, which no artillery could breach, and whose parapet no storming column could ever reach, that they have never given themselves a thought as to the disastrous consequences which might have followed on many occasions had he spoken or voted otherwise than he did. When did he ever pander to position or complain of being overslaughed by his party? Yet no man ever did braver work for a party, and got less consideration than he.”

As the war came on, and seemed for a time to be prosecuted with indifferent success, particularly in the East, Mr. Chandler, with a multitude of other good men, chafed under what he considered the dilat-

tory and unskillful management of army operations. He was prompt to discern and denounce the want of generalship in McClellan. His speech on this subject, made in the Senate, July 7, 1862—soon after the defeat of the army of the Potomac—was bold and incisive. “The country,” he exclaimed, “is in peril; and from whom—by whom? And who is responsible? As I have said, there are two men to-day who are responsible for the present position of the army of the Potomac. The one is the President of the United States, Abraham Lincoln, whom I believe to be a patriot—whom I believe to be honest, and honestly earnest to crush out and put down this rebellion; the other is George B. McClellan, General of the Army of the Potomac, of whom I will not express a belief. * * Either denounce Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, whom I believe to be a pure and honest man, or George B. McClellan, who has defeated your army. He took it to Fortress Monroe, used it guarding rebel property, sacrificed the half of it in the swamps and marshes before Yorktown and the Chickahominy, and finally brought up the right wing with only thirty thousand men, and held it there till it whipped the overwhelming forces of the enemy, repulsed them three times, and then it was ordered to retreat, and after that, the enemy fought like demons, as you and I knew they would, a retreating, defeated army. Tell me where were the left and center of our army? Tell me, where were the forces in front of our left and center? Sir, twenty thousand men from the left and the center to reinforce Porter on the morning after his savage and awful fight, would have sent the enemy in disgrace and disaster into Richmond.”

Mr. Chandler, as we have seen, had no patience with any half-heartedness, or dilatory efforts in the prosecution of the war against the rebellion. He was for striking decided and heavy blows in order to crush the power of the enemy, and it was under the influence of such sentiments that he, in his place in the Senate, proposed a special “Committee on the Conduct of the War.” This Committee was at once ordered. Mr. Chandler declined the chairmanship of the Committee, but was one of its most energetic members; and his zeal-

ous and faithful efforts, in connection with his associates, soon resulted in the removal of McClellan from his command. Equally active was he throughout the war in promoting its efficacy, looking after the interests of the soldiers, and encouraging all measures tending to a successful issue of the great struggle; a struggle he knew it would prove to be, in the very commencement of the revolt; and he then, in a letter addressed to the Governor of Michigan, intimated that blood must flow if the Government was to be preserved. Several years afterwards, when taunted in the Senate by a Democratic Senator in reference to this letter on "blood-letting," Mr. Chandler responded as follows: "It is not the first time that I have been arraigned on that indictment of 'blood-letting.' I was first arraigned for it upon this floor by the traitor John C. Breckenridge; and after I gave him his answer, he went out into the rebel ranks and fought against our flag. I was arraigned by another Senator from Kentucky, and by other traitors on this floor. I expect to be arraigned again. I wrote the letter, and I stand by the letter, and what was in it. What was the position of the country when that letter was written? The Democratic party, as an organization, had arrayed itself against this Government; a Democratic traitor in the Presidential chair, and a Democratic traitor in every department of this Government; Democratic traitors preaching treason upon this floor, and preaching treason in the hall of the other House; Democratic traitors in your army and navy; Democratic traitors controlling every branch of this Government; your flag was fired upon, and there was no response; the Democratic party had ordained that this Government should be overthrown; and I, a Senator from the State of Michigan, wrote to the Governor of that State, 'unless you are prepared to shed blood for the preservation of this great Government, the Government is overthrown.' That is all there was to that letter. That I said, and that I say again; and I tell that Senator, if he is prepared to go down in history with the Democratic traitors who then co-operated with him, I am prepared to go down on that 'blood-letting' letter, and I stand by the record as then made."



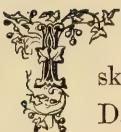
Engr'd by J. E. Ferne

Cleole

THE MURKIN LIVING FILE

PRINTED FOR M. ALIN PMS

CORNELIUS COLE.

 N the year 1800 the grandparents of the subject of this sketch penetrated the wilderness of Western New York. David Cole, his father, was at that time twelve years old, and Rachel Townsend, his mother, was ten ; the former having been born in New Jersey, and the latter in Dutchess County, New York.

Cornelius Cole was born in Seneca County, New York, September 17, 1822. He was afforded such educational facilities as the thrifty farmers of New York were accustomed to give their sons.

When he was about seventeen years old, a practical surveyor moved into the neighborhood and proposed to instruct some of the boys in his art. Flint's "Treatise on Surveying" was procured, and in eighteen days young Cole, without assistance, went through it ; working out every problem, and making a copy of each in a book prepared for that purpose.

In the following spring, the instructor having died, young Cole entered into practice as his successor, executing surveys in the country about.

It was after this that he began in earnest preparation for college ; first in the Ovid Academy, and afterwards at the Genesee Wesleyan Seminary.

He spent one year at Geneva College, but the balance of his collegiate course was passed at the Wesleyan University in Connecticut, where he was graduated in the full course in 1847. After a little respite he entered upon the study of law, in Auburn, N. Y., and was admitted to practice in the Supreme Court of that State at Oswego, on the 1st of May, 1848.

After so many years of close application, recreation was needed,

and an opportunity for it was presented by the discovery of gold in California. On the 12th of February, 1849, he, in company with a few friends, left his native town for a journey across the continent. On the 24th of April, the party, consisting of seven, crossed the frontier of Missouri and entered upon the open plains.

At Fort Laramie the wagons of the company were abandoned, and the rest of the journey was made with pack and saddle animals alone; arriving at Sacramento City, then called the Embarcadero, on the 24th of July. After a few days of rest, he returned to the gold mines in El Dorado County, and worked with good success till winter, often washing out over a hundred dollars a day. When the rainy season set in, he first visited San Francisco, and in the following spring began the practice of law there. While absent in the Atlantic States in 1851, two most destructive fires visited that city, and he returned to find himself without so much as a law book or paper upon which to write a complaint. He visited some friends at Sacramento, and unexpectedly becoming engaged in law business, opened an office there.

Though he had been active in the political campaign of 1848, on the free-soil side, he took little or no part in polities in California beyond freely expressing his anti-slavery opinions, until his law business became entangled in it in this way: certain negroes had been brought out from Mississippi, and having earned much money for their master, were discharged with their freedom. Afterwards they were seized by some ruffians, with the purpose of taking them back to slavery. Cole unhesitatingly undertook their defense, and thus brought down upon himself at once the hostility not only of the claimants but of all their sympathizers, from the highest officers of the State down to the lowest dregs of society. California was at that time as fully subject to the slave power as any portion of the Union.

About this period he was united in marriage to a young lady of many accomplishments, Miss Olive Colegrove, who came from New York, and met him at San Francisco by appointment.

He contended vigorously with the elements of opposition in his profession until 1856, when, the presidential campaign opening, he was urged by the Fremont party to edit the *Sacramento Daily Times*, the organ of the Republicans for the State. The paper was conducted to the entire satisfaction of the party, and at the same time commanded the respect of the Democrats and Know-Nothings. After the election its publication was suspended, and Mr. Cole returned to his profession.

During the following four years he was the California member of the Republican National Committee and an active member of every convention of his party, always taking strong ground against both the Breckinridge and Douglas wings of the opposition, and never consenting to any party affiliation with either.

In 1859 he was elected District-Attorney for the city and county of Sacramento, being about the only Republican elected to any office in California that year.

His execution of that office during the two years for which he was elected was in the highest degree satisfactory to the people, and the subject of frequent favorable comment by both the courts and the profession.

In 1862 he visited the theater of the war. Before his return to the Pacific he had been named for Congress, and the following year was elected, receiving 64,985 votes.

In the Thirty-eighth Congress he was eminently successful in accomplishing results. He was a member of the Committee on the Pacific Railroad and of the Committee on Post-offices and Post Roads. As a member of the latter committee, he originated the project for mail steamship service between San Francisco and the East Indies, known as the "China Mail Line." The success of this great measure is universally conceded to be the result of his considerate management. His speech upon the subject was concise, and at the same time comprehensive and convincing.

He delivered a speech in favor of establishing a Mining Department at Washington, full of argument and statistics.

CORNELIUS COLE.

In February, 1864, when our arms were in their most depressed condition, he made a very effective speech in favor of arming the slaves.

Mr. Cole was among the most earnest advocates of the constitutional amendment abolishing slavery, and on the 28th January, 1865, made an effective speech in favor of the measure.

Mr. Cole's first term in Congress ended with the first term of Mr. Lincoln's administration. In him the war always found a warm supporter, and he enjoyed in an eminent degree the confidence of Mr. Lincoln. He was not elected to the Thirty-ninth Congress, but returned to California, to be very generally named for the United States Senate to succeed Mr. McDougall. In December, 1865, he was elected to that high office, receiving on the first balloting 92 votes out of 118, — having been nominated in the caucus of his party on the first ballot by a vote of 60 to 31.

Mr. Cole's career as a Senator, which has just begun, promises to be replete with useful service to the country, watchful regard for the interests of his State, and honor to himself. He is deliberate in forming his opinions, as he is firm in maintaining them when reached.

ROSCOE CONKLING.

ROSCOE CONKLING was born in Albany, New York, October 30, 1828, and is descended from a family long connected with state and national politics. His father, Hon. Alfred Conkling, was a member of the Seventeenth Congress, and was subsequently chosen United States District Judge for the New York District, the duties of which office he discharged with distinguished honor and ability. He was afterwards appointed, by President Fillmore, minister to Mexico. A brother to Roscoe—Hon. Frederick A. Conkling—was a leading member of the Thirty-seventh Congress, on many important committees, and universally respected as a man of unwavering honor and patriotism.

The subject of this sketch commenced his legal studies at the early age of fifteen in the law office of L. A. Spencer, Esq., of Utica. Evincing an early dislike for "formalities of schools and colleges," he seems to have secured but few of the advantages of an elaborate education aside from what he had gained under the paternal roof.

In 1849 the office of district-attorney of Oneida County becoming vacant, he was appointed by the Governor of the State to fill the vacancy. On receiving this important appointment he had just reached his majority, and yet it was universally conceded by members of the legal profession that the duties of the office were never more skillfully and energetically discharged.

In 1858 Mr. Conkling was elected Mayor of the city of Utica—being the youngest man who has ever filled that office. He was elected a Representative from New York to the Thirty-sixth Congress in the fall of 1858, and was re-elected to the Thirty-seventh Congress.

He served as chairman of the Committee on the District of Columbia, and also as chairman of the Special Committee on the Bankrupt Law. In the Thirty-ninth Congress, to which he was also elected, he was placed on the Committee of Ways and Means, and on the Joint Committee on Reconstruction.

By a large majority, Mr. Conkling was elected a Representative to the Fortieth Congress; but before taking his seat, he was chosen by the Legislature of New York as a United States Senator to succeed Hon. Ira Harris. During the Fortieth Congress he served on the Committees on the Judiciary and Commerce, and was chairman on the Committee on the Revision of the Laws of the United States. He took a prominent part in legislation pertaining to Reconstruction, voted with the majority in favor of the conviction of the President in the impeachment trial, and advocated the resolution submitting the Suffrage Amendment. He presented in the Senate the bill providing for the erection of the magnificent Post-office building in New York City. He acted uniformly with the Republicans, although usually taking moderate rather than extreme views on political questions. He was a frequent speaker, addressing the Senate upon nearly every question of importance which came before it, and always in a way which indicated a familiarity resulting from careful research. As a speaker he is fluent in utterance and graceful in manner, with certain marked peculiarities of intonation and inflection.



John Cowness

John Cowness

John Cowness

JOHN CONNESS.

 JOHN CONNESS is a native of Ireland, and was born in 1822. At thirteen years of age he came to this country, whither he had been preceded by some enterprising brothers. By their kindness he was favored with the advantages of academical education. Soon after arriving at manhood, he departed for California among the earliest emigrants to that country. There he devoted himself with success to mining and mercantile pursuits.

Turning his attention to politics, he was, in 1852, elected to the State Legislature, in which he held a seat during four successive terms. In 1859, he was a candidate for Lieutenant-Governor; and in 1861, he was the Union Democratic candidate for Governor. In 1863, he was elected a Senator in Congress from California for the term ending in 1869. He has served in the Senate on the Committees on Finance and the Pacific Railroad, Chairman of the Committee on Mines and Mining, and as a member also of the Committee on Post-Offices and Post Roads.

Mr. Conness ranks among the efficient and active members of the Senate. The record clearly shows him to be vigilant and awake to all the great questions naturally passing in review before the Senate. His speeches are generally brief and to the point, giving evidence of excellent sense, and a fearless aim to accomplish what appears to him to be his duty as a legislator, regardless of favor or reproach. As illustrative of all this, we may select almost at random various passages from his speeches on different occasions.

Pending the question of dropping from the roll of the army unemployed general officers, Mr. Conness, January 6, 1865, submitted

the following remarks, which must impress the reader as both curious and interesting :

“Early in the conduct of this war, nominations for high ranks were easily obtained. The result was, that inefficient men—men unable and unfit to conduct our armies to victory and success—obtained the highest rank in the army ; and the consequences were losses in every direction to the national cause. Why, sir, at a certain period, during the last session of Congress, we desired a new Department Commander for the Pacific Department, and, anxious to send an officer there of good ability, of high military skill, that that country might be organized and prepared for an emergency likely to arise—possible, at least, to arise—I had several conferences with the Secretary of War ; I had an examination, with that officer, of the long list of unemployed major-generals and brigadier-generals then under the pay of the Government, and without public employment ; and if I were at liberty here to repeat the comment that followed the name of each in those various conferences, it would demonstrate the necessity of action somewhere to rid the country of the unnecessary and profitless burden that those gentlemen in high rank, holding high commissions under the Government, imposed upon it. It was five months before an officer deemed competent to send to that department could be selected, by the exercise of the greatest wisdom, from the long list of the then unemployed generals in the United States army.”

In the Fortieth Congress Mr. Conness has distinguished himself by the earnestness and ability with which he advocated measures designed to protect American citizens abroad. He successfully urged the passage of an “Eight-Hour Law.” When this bill was pending in the Senate, he made a speech in which occurs the following passage :

“When I saw the column of Burnside, thirty thousand or forty thousand strong, marching through this city to the sanguinary fields between the Wilderness and Richmond and Cold Harbor, inclusive, and stood where I could see the eye of every man in the column,

I saw scarcely any but those who had the marks of toil and stalwart labor, black and white; and if I never before that time revered the men who labor, I should do it beginning at that period of my life; but it was not necessary for me to begin then.

“Now, Mr. President, there is considerable agitation in this country upon this question of whether a day’s labor shall be constituted of eight or ten hours, and I have no doubt there are those who think if this bill be passed, and the example be set by the Government, the eight-hour rule will follow in other industries conducted in the country. Well, sir, I hope it will. A personal experience enables me to say that I could, myself, perform more labor in eight hours than in ten, taking any given week for the average; and then it gave more hours for study. Many and many a morning, at two o’clock, when I labored ten and eleven hours a day in my youth, found me yet endeavoring to enable myself to take my rank among my fellows in society; and I desire, by my vote and voice, if that can influence any one, to give an equal opportunity to the youths of the land connected with labor and toil. Let no man forget, because his task is made easy in this world, the thousands, the tens of thousands, and the hundreds of thousands who labor and toil for an ill-requited compensation, for a small compensation scarcely sufficient to furnish bread, much less to enable them to educate their children and bring them up fit to be citizens of this Republic. Make their path as easy as you can, by limiting their hours of labor. Give them time to think.”

As a specimen of effective “stump oratory,” we quote the following extract from a speech delivered by Mr. Conness in Cooper Institute, New York, September 30, 1868, before an immense audience composed largely of Irish-Americans: “I come before you to-night, fellow-citizens, as one of yourselves, as one of a class of Americans denominated Irish-Americans. [Applause.] I will not say, I know I could not say, that there can be any title higher than that of an American citizen. [Applause.] And while some of us may be denominated, and may be better known as Irish-Americans, it

should be our boast peculiarly that we are Americans, and Americans alone—[Applause]—not forgetting our origin, not forgetting the trials of the land we came from, and the race from which we sprang, for that but sharpens the mental appetite for liberty, as we find it established here,—[Cheers]—but as American citizens simply, owning a part in the great cause of the Republic established by the fathers, and maintained by their sons, to go down, I trust, to all posterity for ever. [Applause.] We have a high title in having a part in that cause, and in being known as American citizens. [Cheers.] The American people, in a short time, are to determine who shall be the Executive, to give to the Republic a guardian of its interests; a safeguard, so far as an Executive can be such, to the principles upon which the Republic is founded, and we are to replace the man now filling that station by an accident—[Laughter and cheers]—with not only the greatest military leader of the world, but, greater than his military leadership, one of the simplest and the most virtuous citizens of America—a man who advanced, as he need not have done—and yet 'twas well done—that he is not to have a policy against at once the intelligence and the virtue of the American people—[Applause]—but whose policy, if he is elected President, will be to give reality and effect to that intelligence and virtue. [Cheers.] What is to be tried, and what is being tried, in the contest that is now going on for the Presidential office is, whether, after the nation, at the cost of hundreds of thousands of lives, and thousands of millions of treasure, maintained intact the national integrity—whether that integrity shall be continuously maintained, and, in addition, whether the great principles of liberty, law and humanity, vindicated and re-established by our grand successes against rebellion, shall also be maintained, and also whether, in addition still, the measures that the American people have found it necessary to enact to maintain the condition of things shall be carried out.”



H. W. Corbett

HON. HENRY W. CORBETT

STATE OF OREGON

HENRY W. CORBETT.



HENRY W. CORBETT was born at Westboro, Massachusetts, February 18, 1827. His father, Elijah Corbett, established one of the first ax manufactories in Massachusetts. In 1832, he removed to White Creek, New York, and subsequently settled in the town of Jackson, Washington County, New York. At the age of thirteen, Henry entered upon a clerkship in a store at Cambridge, New York, on a salary of fifty dollars a year. Here he remained two years, and about nine months of the time attended the Cambridge Academy. The following year he was a clerk in the establishment of Proudftit & Fitch, Salem, Washington County, New York.

In the spring of 1843, he went to New York City with letters of recommendation from his former employers, to enter upon a new life in the great metropolis. After much effort, he succeeded in obtaining a situation in a retail dry-goods store, his salary being \$3 50 per week, out of which he paid his board, and slept on the counter. After remaining in this position for one year, he succeeded in obtaining a situation in a wholesale dry-goods store in Cedar Street, New York, where he continued as long as the firm remained in trade. In the fall of 1855, he was offered a situation in the dry-goods house of Williams, Bradford & Co. He remained with this firm until he conceived the idea of shipping a stock of goods to the Territory of Oregon. In the fall of 1850, he informed his employers that he desired to embark in this enterprise; and he proposed to them, if they would join him in the enterprise, he would divide the profits with them. They inquired of him what he knew of the country and its prospects.

They found him thoroughly informed on all points, and so implicitly did they believe in the success of any enterprise that his judgment approved, that they at once furnished him with a stock of goods, and cash to the amount of \$24,000—a large amount of credit for a young man whose capital amounted to only \$1,000, from his savings. After an absence of a year and a half, he returned to New York, repaid the \$24,000—then divided his profits of \$20,000 with those who assisted him. He was offered a co-partnership with his friends in New York, which he declined.

In February, 1853, he was married to Miss Cara E. Jagger, of Albany, New York; and in the following May he returned to Portland, Oregon, where he resumed his business, and was greatly prospered.

He now has an extensive wholesale hardware house in Portland, having two resident partners in that place, and one in New York. All his business enterprises have been attended with marked success, which his strict integrity and untiring energy have well deserved.

Mr. Corbett has been largely interested in many of the great enterprises for the development of Oregon, such as the establishment of manufactories of woolen goods, the erection of furnaces for the manufacture of iron, and the building of steamboats.

In 1866, he took the contract for carrying the daily mail from Lincoln, California, to Portland, Oregon, a distance of six hundred and twenty-four miles, stocked the road with four-horse teams and coaches, to the great satisfaction of the community.

In politics, Mr. Corbett was in early life a Whig. On the organization of the Republican party of Oregon in 1860, he was chosen chairman of the Republican State Central Committee. The energy with which this campaign was conducted, reduced the Democratic majority from about twenty-five hundred to thirteen. Hon. D. Logan, the Republican candidate for Congress, was defeated by only this small majority.

On the breaking out of the war, Mr. Corbett saw the importance of uniting all loyal men under the name of the Union party, for the

purpose of crushing out the party of Secession in the State. By the prompt action of the Republican Central Committee in making a call, early in 1862, for all Union men to join them in a Convention, to be held at Eugene City, the peril of the State was averted. Mr. Corbett was an active member of that convention, and was instrumental in nominating a ticket that carried the State by about twenty-seven thousand majority. During the war he was active in raising money for the Sanitary and Christian Commissions, and contributed liberally for these as well as other worthy objects.

Mr. Corbett was chosen as one of the delegates to the Chicago Convention of 1860, that nominated Mr. Lincoln for the Presidency. He was a member of the Republican National Convention of 1868, which nominated Grant and Colfax.

Fully absorbed in his extensive business, and in his efforts to promote the success of the Union party in his State, Mr. Corbett has not been an ardent aspirant for political preferment. For some years he served the City of Portland as a member of its Council, and held the office of City Treasurer. On the 29th of September, 1866, he was elected a Senator of the United States.

In the Senate, Mr. Corbett has devoted himself with conscientious faithfulness to the discharge of his important duties. He has given much patient thought to the great financial questions which are now demanding attention. On these important topics he has delivered several speeches, which are marked by sound reasoning and wise deductions. On the 11th of March, 1868, he addressed the Senate on the Funding Bill, concluding his remarks as follows:

“ When we look to the future of this great Republic, embracing twenty-three degrees in longitude by fifty-seven degrees of latitude, with all varieties of climate, producing the most delicate and delicious fruits of the South, with abundance of the more substantial productions of the temperate zone, and the hardy productions of the North—when we contemplate this vast and varied country, its climate, its production for the sustenance, comfort, and luxury of man, the vast resources of all its varied hidden riches of the earth, comprising metals

for all the most substantial and useful arts of life, with all the most precious metals to tempt the cupidity of man; test the bowels of the earth, it sends forth its fatness in living streams of oil like the perennial fountain; add to these our beds of coal, our forests of timber, our mountains of iron, where is its equal? Have we the capacity to make them useful? —who doubts it? With all the thousands of inventors, combining the greatest inventive genius of the world, we can outstrip all other nations combined. A population from every land and nation under the sun, a land now happily free from the oppressor's rod, to be rebuilt upon a firm and enduring foundation, made sacred and cemented by the blood of a million of our noblest sons.

“Therefore, let us not crown this temple, hewn by the sweat of so many brows, reared by the blood of so many brave lads, with the cap-stone of repudiation. Let us do nothing, as a great and noble and suffering people, that shall detract from the honor of those that lie silent and cold in their blood-bought graves, with naught but their country's banner over them. To me, Mr. President, my duty is plain; my duty to the men that came forward to supply our suffering army, to succor our noble boys in the day of the national darkness and despair, and to the capitalists of Germany, of Frankfort, that took our securities, and spewed out the rebel bonds, and gave to us money, the sinew of war, to assist us in maintaining the life of the nation. I need not the example of other nations to tell me what is right between man and man or between nation and nation; it needs not the shrewd argument of a lawyer to tell me what is due to my creditor. If there is any one thing that I regard more sacred in life, after my duty to my God, it is to fulfill all my engagements, both written and implied, and nothing shall drive me from this position.

“If this be important and right in private affairs, how much more important in public affairs.”



Engraving by F. G. Johnson

A H Cragin

HON. AARON H. CRAGIN,

SENATOR FROM NEW HAMPSHIRE

AARON H. CRAGIN.



ARON H. CRAGIN was born in Weston, Vermont, February 3, 1821. He is of Scotch descent, one of his ancestors being John Cragin, who was among the prisoners taken by Cromwell at the great battle of Dunbar, September 3, 1650, and banished to America.

Aaron worked at farming and in a woolen mill until he became of age. His education was principally acquired at "Burr Seminary," Manchester, Vermont, and at the "Lebanon Liberal Institute," at Lebanon, N. H. Having finished his studies at the academy, he returned to his native town of Weston, and entered at once upon the study of law. He afterwards spent two years in law studies at Albany, New York, and was admitted to the bar in New York City, in the fall of 1847. The same year he moved to Lebanon, N. H., and commenced the practice of his profession.

In 1848, Mr. Cragin took an active part in the canvass for Gen. Taylor, and was an associate editor of the *Granite State Whig*, published at Lebanon. In 1852, he was on the electoral ticket for Scott and Graham, and made numerous speeches in behalf of those candidates. In the years of 1852, 1853, 1854, and 1859, he was a member of the New Hampshire legislature. He was elected to the Thirty-fourth Congress, a representative from the Third Congressional District of New Hampshire, by a majority of 3,000; although this District, before that time, had been strongly Democratic. He was re-elected in 1857, and served through the Thirty-fifth Congress.

Mr. Cragin was a delegate at large from New Hampshire to the Republican Convention at Chicago, in 1860, and voted first and last

for Abraham Lincoln, and supported him upon the stump in every county in New Hampshire.

In June, 1864, he was elected to the United States Senate for the full term of six years, as the successor of John P. Hale.

Mr. Cragin is a staunch and able advocate of the measures enacted by Congress for the reconstruction of the Southern States.

On the 30th of January, 1868, he delivered an address in the Senate, in which he presented an able review of the Reconstruction acts, and the usurpation of Andrew Johnson. The speech closes with the following eloquent passage :

“The Republican party, sir, is the people’s party. It is the hope of the country and the anchor of its freedom. It is the representative of the true democratic sentiment of the country. It bears aloft the banner of liberty, and pleads for those rights of human nature which God has given to man. It swears by the Declaration of Independence, and acknowledges the manhood of the whole human race. It teaches the great Christian democratic doctrine that ‘all things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them.’ It knows no baseness, cowers at no danger, oppresses no weakness. Generous and humane, it rebukes the arrogant, cherishes honor, and sympathizes with the humble. It asks nothing but what it concedes, and concedes nothing but what it demands. Destructive only to despotism and treason, it is the sole conservator of liberty, labor, and property. It cherishes the sentiment of universal freedom, of equal rights, and equal obligations. It sides with the weak and the down-trodden, and sympathizes with every effort to elevate the people and better their condition. A true Republican, while claiming an equality with the best, scorns any political immunities not accorded to the humblest of his fellows. The ark of our national salvation rests upon the shoulders of the men composing this party. I pray that they may be patient and strong, bold and prudent, patriotic and just, devout and self-sacrificing, and resolute and mighty, that we may transmit to uncounted millions and unborn generations the blessings of free, democratic government.”

GARRETT DAVIS.



GARRETT DAVIS was born at Mount Sterling, Kentucky, September 10, 1801. He received a common-school education, and when a boy found employment as a writer in the office of the clerk of the County Court. His associations naturally led him into the study of law, and he was admitted to the bar in 1823.

He was early a Whig in politics, and as such was in 1833 elected to the State Legislature, and served three terms in that body. In 1839 he was a member of the State Constitutional Convention. In the same year he took his seat as a Representative in Congress from Kentucky—his district being that in which Henry Clay resided, with whom he was ever on the most intimate terms of personal and political friendship. He served as a Representative in Congress until 1849, when he declined a re-election. In 1861 he was elected a Senator in Congress to succeed John C. Breckenridge, and took his seat December 3, 1861. He was re-elected in 1867.

Mr. Davis steadily antagonized those who favored a vigorous prosecution of the war, opposed the emancipation and enfranchisement of the negroes, and obstructed reconstruction at every step. Every proposed amendment of the Constitution encountered his bitter opposition, yet he proposed a resolution that "the Constitution should be so amended as to establish a tribunal for the decision of Constitutional questions," which he supported by a speech of great length. He opposed a resolution of sympathy with the people of Spain in their efforts to establish a more liberal form of government, for the reason that it appealed to them to abolish slavery. He opposed impeachment, and pronounced a labored "Opinion" for the President's acquittal.

JAMES DIXON.

AMES DIXON was born at Enfield, Connecticut, August 5, 1814. He pursued his preparatory studies at the High School of Ellington, and at sixteen years of age entered Williams College, where he graduated in 1834. After leaving college he studied law in the office of his father, William Dixon, Esq. ; and after being admitted to the bar, commenced the practice of his profession in his native town, which for two years he represented in the State Legislature. Subsequently he removed to Hartford. In October, 1840, he was married to Miss Elizabeth L. Cogswell, daughter of Rev. Dr. Cogswell, Professor in the Theological Institute of East Windsor, and soon after went upon a European tour, which occupied him until the following summer.

Mr. Dixon devoted much attention to literature. He contributed poems of much merit to the "New England Magazine," and the "Connecticut Courant." Mr. Everest, in his "Poets of Connecticut," says, "Mr. Dixon's articles display truly poetical powers, and his sonnets in particular are characterized by a chasteness of thought and style which entitle them to a high place amongst the poems of their order."

He was re-elected to the lower branch of the Connecticut Legislature in 1844, and was a member of the State Senate in 1849 and 1854. He served as a Representative in Congress from Connecticut, from 1845 to 1849. He was elected a United States Senator from Connecticut, and entered upon the duties of this office in 1857, and was subsequently re-elected for the term which ended March 4th, 1869. He was elected as a Republican, but joined President Johnson in his defection from that party. In the spring of 1869, he was a candidate of the Democratic party for Representative in Congress, and was defeated.



James Dixie





CHARLES D. DRAKE

C. D. Drake

HON CHARLES D DRAKE,

SENATOR FROM MISSOURI

CHARLES D. DRAKE.

HE border States, upon the breaking out of the rebellion, were for a time the scene of severe conflicts between loyalty and treason; and during the whole progress of the war, only the presence of the military power of the Government secured the supremacy of the former. This condition of things brought out into prominence many men who had before taken little part in public affairs, and who did not enter the military service. Among these was Charles D. Drake, of Missouri. He was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, on the 11th of April, 1811, being the son of Daniel Drake, M.D., of that city, for many years eminent as a practitioner and teacher of medicine.

Mr. Drake's education was mainly received in the ordinary schools of the West. The only institutions of a higher grade which he attended were St. Joseph College, Bardstown, Kentucky, and Captain Partridge's Military Academy, Middletown, Connecticut. While at the latter, in April, 1827, he was appointed a Midshipman in the Navy, and in the following November entered upon active duty, and remained in the Navy until January, 1830, when he retired from the service and began the study of the law. He was admitted to the Cincinnati bar in 1833, and the next year removed to St. Louis, then a town of seven thousand five hundred inhabitants.

In 1838, he originated the St. Louis Law Library, now one of the most valuable in the country, and for more than twenty-one years was one of its Directors.

Mr. Drake's first appearance in public life was in 1859, when he was elected to the House of Representatives of Missouri, to fill a vacancy.

In 1860, he, for the first time since 1844, took part in politics, espousing the cause of Stephen A. Douglas for the Presidency, as a means of preventing the Electoral vote of Missouri from being cast for John C. Breckinridge. In August of that year, he delivered a speech at Victoria, in which the treasonable designs of the Southern States were exposed and denounced, and which, it was generally conceded, was the means of gaining the vote of Missouri for Mr. Douglas.

From the secession of South Carolina, Mr. Drake's course was open and pronounced against secession and rebellion. By speech and pen he labored for the Union cause, and it was in connection with those labors that he became prominent in Missouri and before the country.

In January, 1861, he delivered a speech in the Hall of Representatives of Missouri, in the presence of many members of the Legislature who were then plotting the secession of Missouri; in which he took the highest ground of unconditional loyalty to the Constitution and the Union.

On the following Fourth of July he delivered an elaborately prepared speech at Louisiana, Mo., upon all the issues of the hour; which was extensively published at the time, and was preserved in the "Rebellion Record." The concluding words of this speech were as follows:

"We are lost if our Constitution is overthrown. Thenceforward we may bid farewell to liberty. Never were truer or greater words uttered by an American statesman, than when Daniel Webster closed his great speech in defense of the Constitution, nearly thirty years ago, with that sublime exclamation: 'Liberty and Union, now and for ever, one and inseparable!' Union gave us liberty, disunion would take it away. He who strikes at the Union, strikes at the heart of the Nation. Shall not the Nation defend its life? And when the children of the Union come to its rescue, shall they be denounced? And if denounced, will they quail before the mere breath of the Union's foes? For one, I shrink not from any words

of man, save those which would justly impute to me disloyalty to the Union and the Constitution. My country is all to me; but it is no country without the Constitution which has exalted and glorified it. For the preservation of that Constitution I shall not cease to struggle; and my life-long prayer will be, GOD SAVE THE AMERICAN UNION!"

On the 22d of February, 1862, he delivered, in St. Louis, an Address, in which he denounced Slavery as the cause of the rebellion, and used these words:

"Let it once be manifest that we are shut up to choose between our noble country, with its priceless Constitution, and Slavery, then, with every fiber of my heart and every energy of my nature, I will pass along the universal cry of all patriots—Down with Slavery for ever! I would then no more hesitate which to choose, than, in view of death, I would balance between eternal life and eternal perdition."

This Address was followed, at intervals, by others, during the progress of the rebellion, exposing its true character and aims, and denouncing Slavery as its sole cause. They were all gathered and published in a volume in 1864.

In 1863, Mr. Drake was elected a member, from St. Louis, of the Missouri State Convention, which was constituted in 1861, and which re-assembled in June, 1863, in pursuance of a proclamation of the Governor of the State, "to consult and act upon the subject of the emancipation of slaves." In that body he took ground in favor of immediate emancipation; but the Convention adopted a scheme so gradual as hardly to terminate Slavery before the year 1900. Mr. Drake, in a vigorous canvass, assailed it before the people; whence followed the rise of the "Radical" party in Missouri, of which he has for more than five years been the acknowledged leader.

In September, 1863, a delegation of seventy men from all parts of Missouri visited President Lincoln at Washington, to inform him of the actual condition of parties and affairs in Missouri. Mr. Drake was chairman of that body. Its address to the President attracted the attention of the people, and gave no inconsiderable impulse to Radicalism in all the loyal States.

In February, 1864, a Freedom Convention was held in Louisville, Ky., which Mr. Drake attended, and which he addressed on Washington's Birth-day, in a speech which attracted much notice and commendation from all parts of the country. The following are the concluding words of that address :

“ The issue, upon one side or the other, of which every man in the nation must be ranged, is fully made up, between that Radicalism which will venture all, do all, and brave all for the Union and Freedom, and that Conservatism which, assuming loyalty, hangs back from the advanced positions of patriotism ; professes enmity to Slavery, and yet cringes to it ; avows hostility to treason, and yet counts traitors for partisan ends ; ever finds something strong and resolute, which it were wise not to venture—something prompt and effective, that had better not be done—something daring and aggressive, which it is discretion not to be brave ; and is content to stake less than all for country, that it may more cheaply win all for *itself*. When between two such forces the country’s safety hangs, it is time that the banner of Radicalism were unfurled beyond the narrow limits of Missouri. The nation should behold it. Why not raise it here ? And why not on this birth-day of Washington ! Is there any better place or day ? We have come to fling it to the breeze, and to plant it in the front rank, and we will do it. It is no paltry ensign of sectionalism, no drabbled banner of party, but the grand old standard of the Republic, with every broad stripe still firm and unstained ; and look ! with one more star in its azure field, than when treason struck at the beaming constellation ; and that one riven, with her own blood-stained hand, from once brilliant, now poor, dismembered, fallen ‘ Old Virginia ! ’ And see ! its spreading folds reveal an inscription, inwoven in letters of gold, flashing in the orient sunlight ! What are the words ? Read them, ye downcast and oppressed, for they speak hope and cheer to you ; read them, friends of Freedom, for they tell you of a brighter day ; read them, champions of Slavery, for they proclaim your discomfiture ; read them, traitors, for they thunder anathemas to you, as they say—‘ The Union

without a slave; the Constitution amended to forbid Slavery forever; and the arms of the Nation to uphold that Union and that Constitution to the latest generation ! ”

In November, 1864, a new convention was elected in Missouri, to revise and amend the constitution of that State, and Mr. Drake was chosen one of its members from St. Louis County, and upon its assembling, in January, 1865, was made its vice president, and soon became its acknowledged leader. By that body slavery in Missouri was abolished on the 11th of that month. The convention was in session three months, and formed the present constitution of that State. In its formation so large a part was taken by Mr. Drake that he became more prominently identified with it than any other member of that body.

Mr. Drake was elected to the Senate of the United States in January, 1867, and took his seat in that body on the ensuing 4th of March.

In the subsequent consideration of the measures of reconstruction, he took a decidedly Radical stand; as, indeed, he had at all times taken on all questions relating to the suppression of the rebellion. His resolute adherence to Radical principles and policies was expressed in a published letter to Reverdy Johnson in November, 1867, in which he said :

“ Here, Senator, at the close, as in the outset, we diverge. Cling, if you please, to purblind, droning, effete conservatism, and drift with it into the realms of the rejected and forgotten; but I will hold on to living, clear-sighted, resolute, and progressive Radicalism, be its fate what it may. If Americans, in this the meridian of their military renown, have not courage, persistence, and nerve to uphold such Radicalism as upheld and saved their country in the day of its deadliest peril, they will only exhibit a dishonoring example of a people unsurpassed in martial valor and achievement, but too timid for great civil conflicts, too feeble for sharp moral exigencies, too fickle or earnest struggles for the right, and too small for the mold of a grand and noble destiny.”

Participating in the discussion of the Supplementary Reconstruc

tion bill in the Senate, Mr. Drake earnestly advocated the substitution of voting by ballot for the method which had prevailed throughout the South of voting *viva voce*, and said :

“Once get the mode of voting by ballot fairly into the hands of a majority of the people down there, and they will be very likely to take care of it; but what I want is, that while this nation is undertaking to reconstruct these States upon the principle of loyalty to the Union, upon the principle of protecting the loyal people, the work shall be done thoroughly. Sir, I came from a State where we have dealt with this rebellion in some of its foulest aspects; and we have learned there, through a long and bitter experience, that the only way to deal with it is to apply the knife deep and strong down to the very fibers of the roots, leave not a single atom in which to germinate a future rebellion. I came here, Sir—I do not hesitate to avow in open Senate on the first occasion when I have undertaken to address this august body, that I came here as a representative, not of a conservative radicalism, but of a radical radicalism, which believes in doing, and not in half doing.”



"The Art of the Actor"

J. R. Crookitle

BY JAMES F. DOLPTON

GENERAL PERFORMING ARTS COMMISSION

JAMES R. DOOLITTLE.

HE ancestry of the subject of this sketch is part English, part Irish, and part Scotch. The paternal line was entirely English, and in early times it was connected with the Puritans in England. On the mother's side the ancestors were Presbyterians from the north of Ireland. His parents were born in New England, but early in life they removed to the village of Hampton, Washington County, in the State of New York, where James R. Doolittle was born, January 3, 1815. Four years after his birth his parents removed to Wethersfield Springs, in Wyoming County. At that time this part of the country was a wilderness. But the father, man of great energy and prudence, was not long in acquiring property and influence in the community which grew up around him. Although without the advantage of a college education, he was always an earnest advocate of schools. He possessed a well balanced mind, firm religious principles and liberal views, and was the first to establish an Episcopal church at Wethersfield.

At the age of fifteen, young Doolittle entered college at Geneva, New York, and four years later graduated with the honors of his class. At school he was especially proficient in Mathematics and Greek. Even at that time he had developed unusual oratorical talent in the debating societies connected with the institution.

After leaving college, he read law with Isaac Hill of Rochester. During the three years of legal study then required before admission to the bar, he sometimes taught Mathematics, Greek, and Elocution. In 1836, he was admitted to practice law in the State of New York, and soon after was married to Miss Mary L. Cutting, of Warsaw. He established himself in Rochester, where he remained for two years.

The illness of a brother, which afterwards terminated in death, induced him to return to Wyoming County. There continuing in the practice of his profession, he was elected District-Attorney in 1845, in a county largely opposed to him in politics. He performed the duties of the office with ability, and to the satisfaction of his constituents.

In the year 1851, at the age of thirty-six, he removed with his family to Wisconsin, and took up his residence at Racine, which has since that time been his home. In a new State, surrounded by young and active men, he soon distinguished himself. He was employed by the Governor of Wisconsin to take charge of several cases for the State; on the ground, as the Governor said, that Mr. Doolittle was a man of ability, and could not be bought. He was successful in obtaining decisions in favor of the State. In 1853, he was chosen Judge of the First Judicial District of Wisconsin, but resigned in 1856, to resume the practice of the law.

At this time the country was agitated by the troubles in Kansas. The Democratic party, then in control of the Government, lent itself to the establishing of slavery in that Territory. When this course had been decided upon, he left the Democratic party, and assisted in the organization of the Republican party. The State of Wisconsin voted for Fremont, but Mr. Buchanan was elected President.

In 1857, the Legislature of Wisconsin elected Mr. Doolittle to the Senate of the United States, and in 1863 he was re-elected to the same position. In 1860, he sustained Mr. Lincoln; and in 1864 aided his re-election to the Presidency.

For many years he was chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs of the Senate, and gave direction to the Indian policy of the Government. Always opposed to harsh measures, he sought to avert conflicts and to establish peaceful relations between the races on the frontier. In 1865, Congress appointed a joint committee to visit the Indian country, and ascertain the necessities of the situation. Mr. Doolittle was chosen chairman, and in this capacity, with Senator Foster and Hon. Lewis Ross of the House, as one portion of the Commission, visited the Indians of New Mexico, Colorado, and the

Plains. One result of this enterprise was the prevention of a war with the numerous nation of Camanches, by restraining one of our ambitious brigadier-generals from marching his troops across the Arkansas with the purpose of inaugurating hostilities. This one thing saved the Government at least thirty millions of dollars. An incident occurred at Denver in Colorado, which illustrates the character of the subject of this sketch. He was invited to address the people on Indian Affairs, for his views had much to do in determining the policy of the Government in that regard. It was only a few months after the Sand Creek massacre, where peaceable Cheyenne Indians of both sexes, old and young, had been slaughtered by wholesale at the instigation of Colonel Chivington. The meeting was held in the theater which only a short time before had been decorated with the scalps of more than a hundred Cheyennes, as trophies of the slaughter.

Mr. Doolittle commenced his speech, but had not proceeded far before announcing the opinion that the Indians should be treated with kindness and fairness, and allowed to pass away from the face of the earth in peace, and not exterminated by the whites. This opinion was no sooner stated than the whole audience raised a howl of rage, rose to their feet, some of them brandishing pistols, and tried to hiss the speaker from the stage. But they had mistaken the man. He folded his arms and gazed with cool defiance at the infuriated mass. They fired no shots, but in silence and awe soon resumed their seats, struck dumb by the courage and self-possession of the man. The speaker continued his remarks without further interruption, and did not spare the feelings or the prejudices of his audience. No man, unless possessed of physical and moral courage, could have braved such a storm of passion.

In dealing with the negro question, which for more than a quarter of a century has engrossed the attention of statesmen, and agitated and disturbed the country, he has maintained the theories of Jefferson, in which he was schooled in youth. He has always opposed slavery and its extension, and favored a gradual separation of the races by colonization or any other peaceful means. During a public

life of twenty-five years, he has never swerved from those fundamental ideas. Always a Democrat, when his party did not attempt or connive at the extension of slavery, yet when any such attempt was made, he was always among the first to break from his party. In 1848, he was a Free-Soil Democrat. In 1856, when an attempt was made to force slavery into the Territory of Kansas, he abandoned the Democratic party in the pride of its power, and became a Republican. Before the Rebellion broke out, he often urged the Southern leaders to adopt a system of gradually colonizing the negroes of the South in Central America, and thus remove the only cause which was disturbing the peace of the country. But his admonitions were unheeded, as well by the extreme Republicans as by the men of the South. The same plan which Henry Clay had advocated, without material success, was again rejected, and the almost inevitable sequence, in the excited condition of the public mind, was civil war. The attempt to avert the impending conflict met with but little favor. And yet it is doubtful whether any other course could long have postponed the collision which followed.

During the war, Mr. Doolittle was a zealous supporter of the Union cause, and labored in the Senate, and before the people, to accomplish its triumph. After the overthrow of the Rebellion, he favored a policy of magnanimity towards the South, and sought to lessen the bitterness existing between the two sections, and allay the angry passions which the war had aroused. His voice has been heard pleading in eloquent tones for mercy to the vanquished, and pointing out the evils, present and future, of continuing the animosities of civil strife. Although much censured for this course, deserted by many of his best friends, and charged with ignoble motives, he has held his course without faltering, feeling that it was his duty, and trusting in the returning reason of his fellow-countrymen, at a future day, for his vindication. The advocates of leniency and magnanimity always are commended when the wild storm of passion has abated, and the clear light of reason breaks through the vanishing clouds.

As a member of the High Court of Impeachment, Mr. Doolittle

voted to acquit the President. During the consultation of the Senate, before the rendition of the verdict, he delivered an oral "opinion" on the case, of which the following is the closing paragraph:

"Sir, much may be forgiven, much must be forgiven in times of high party excitement, for the judicial blindness which it begets. But when this temporary and frenzied excitement shall have passed away, as pass it will, and when men shall carefully review this case and all the evidence given on this trial, their surprise will be, not that a few Republican Senators can rise above party prejudice and refuse to be driven from their clear convictions by party furor, but their utter astonishment will be, that any respectable Senator should ever for one moment have entertained the thought of convicting the President of the United States of a high crime or a misdemeanor upon the charges and evidence produced upon this trial."

As a public man, Mr. Doolittle is a statesman rather than a partisan. He has never felt himself bound to support party measures when he regarded them as prejudicial to the interests of the nation. Thoroughly a man of principle, in his daily life he conforms strictly to his convictions of duty. At times he seems to hesitate, but it is only for a moment. When convinced that a certain course is right, he assumes it without fear of consequences, and urges it with untiring zeal and unvarying consistency.

In a recent speech, delivered in the Senate, Mr. Howe, of Wisconsin, bore honorable testimony to Mr. Doolittle's integrity of character. "My colleague," said he, "has been a citizen of the State of Wisconsin since sometime about 1850 or 1851. He was for many years a leading lawyer in that State, very widely known to the profession, enjoying a very large practice. He was four or five years a Judge of the Circuit Court in that State, before he came to the Senate. I knew him for almost the whole time very well, personally and by reputation, and I have great personal satisfaction in saying here, and I think it is due to the State that I should say it, that in all that time I never heard the slightest imputation cast upon him, either for the conduct of business in the Courts over which he presided, or for

the relations existing between him and his clients—never a whisper which could excite in the mind of any one a suspicion of his venality or corruption."

As an orator, Mr. Doolittle has a high reputation, which is well deserved. His speeches possess much argumentative force, graceful imagery, and frequent eloquence. His manner is earnest and dignified, his utterance is deliberate and distinct, without apparent effort.

Public men are praised more for their eloquence, wit, intellectual strength, and engaging manners, than for purity of character. But in forming a correct estimate of the character of a public man, private virtues, no less than public, should be taken into consideration. In this respect, the subject of this sketch will bear close scrutiny. In early manhood, he embraced the teachings of Christianity, and has lived a consistent, religious life. He is free from intemperance, and all its kindred vices.

GEORGE F. EDMUNDS.

EORGE F. EDMUNDS was born in Richmond, Vermont, February 1, 1828. His education was carried somewhat beyond the curriculum of the common schools by the instructions of a private tutor. Possessing naturally an acute intellect and a practical readiness with his mother tongue, he took almost instinctively to the law, which he studied with unusual assiduity and success. He was admitted to the bar in 1849, and eschewing politics, devoted himself exclusively to his profession. In 1851 he settled in Burlington, and in 1854, in 1857, in 1858, and in 1859 he was elected to the lower branch of the Vermont Legislature, in which he served three years as Speaker. In 1861 and 1862, he was elected to the State Senate, and was President *pro tem.* of that body. On the breaking out of the rebellion he was a member of the State Convention which met to form a coalition between the Republicans and War Democrats, and drew up the resolutions which were adopted by the Convention as the basis of union for the country. He was appointed to the United States Senate as a Republican to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Hon. Solomon Foot, and took his seat April 5, 1866. He was elected by the Legislature for the remainder of the term ending March 4, 1869, and was re-elected without opposition for the further term of six years. He served on the Committees on Commerce, Public Lands, Pensions, Retrenchment, and the Judiciary, and as chairman of the Committee on Pensions. He frequently participated in the debates of the Senate, always speaking with force and clearness. As a member of the Judiciary Committee he has frequently expressed his views on legal questions in such a way as to impress hearers with his ability as a lawyer.

ORRIS S. FERRY.



ORRIS S. FERRY was born at Bethel, Fairfield County, Connecticut, August 15, 1823. He graduated with honor at Yale College in 1844. He subsequently studied law and commenced practice at Norwalk, in Connecticut, where he has ever since resided. He pursued his profession with diligence, and rose rapidly at the bar.

In politics, Mr. Ferry was of Whig antecedents, and voted and worked with that party; meanwhile he was far in advance of it in liberal and anti-slavery tendencies. Though active and widely popular, he avoided public office until he was nominated and elected to the State Senate in 1855.

When he entered that body, the Nebraska bill and debate had convulsed Congress, and was agitating the nation to the centre. He was made chairman of the Committee on Federal Relations, which, in Connecticut, is a joint committee of both Houses. He drew up the report and resolutions of the Committee, and advocated them with earnestness. They were adopted, and became the substance of the first platform of the Republican party in the State of Connecticut. On that platform he was re-elected in 1856. He was made chairman of the same committee in the Legislature, and was again author of resolutions which formed the basis of the Republican platform in the succeeding election.

In 1855 a proposition was made in the General Assembly to submit to the people an amendment to the State Constitution, conferring suffrage on colored men. Mr. Ferry knew well that many of his Whig supporters were strenuously opposed to the amendment,

but convinced that it was right, he gave it his vote, and when it was submitted, advocated it publicly. It was defeated by an overwhelming majority. The conscientious action of Mr. Ferry nearly cost him his election in 1866, reducing his heavy majority of the previous year to one hundred and twenty. The old line Whigs actually mourned over what they deemed the mistake of a favorite, and voted sadly against him. Some of these very men lived to confess their error, and openly commend the foresight and courage of the action they had condemned.

Mr. Ferry, during 1855 and 1856, was chairman of the Judiciary Committee, which is, in Connecticut, a joint committee of both Houses. For years, leading men had vainly tried to secure a revision of the Judiciary system and laws of the State. Mr. Ferry and the committee with cheerful and persistent energy performed the arduous and much-needed labor, overcame the bitter opposition to the change, and inaugurated a system which stills gives universal satisfaction.

In 1856 Mr. Ferry was chosen attorney for the State, which position he filled until 1859, winning well-deserved reputation for ability, integrity and faithfulness.

In 1859 he was nominated for Congress by the Republican party, in a doubtful district. He had emerged into public life with the Republican party; bore a leading part in its early struggles, and was fired with all the zeal and vigor of its youth. He made a personal canvass after the Western style, a thing not before done in Connecticut. He possesses remarkable oratorical powers; he relates no anecdotes, illustrates rarely from the classics, enlivens his speeches only with an occasional pungent thrust, but his power is higher than this. To a pure, compact, direct, luminous style he adds the magnetic power of a deep and sincere heart, glowing with the ardor of honest and profound convictions. He spoke with lofty and fervid eloquence in every town and village. The young men rallied to his support, and with great enthusiasm triumphantly elected him.

Mr. Ferry was an active and unflinching Republican in the stormy sessions of the Thirty-sixth Congress. He was a member of the

famous committee of thirty-three "upon the state of the Union." After careful and searching consideration, he reluctantly concluded that adjustment of our national difficulties by legislation was impossible. He made, on the 24th of February, an earnest speech, declaring that there was "no course left but for the government to vindicate its dignity by an exhibition of its strength." The speech was so savagely criticised by Democrats, and disapproved by hesitating Republicans, as to compass the defeat of Mr. Ferry. The election took place early in April, just in the period of apprehension and anxiety to avoid collision, which preceded the capture of Sumter. After a gallant campaign, Mr. Ferry was beaten by seventeen votes. Had the election taken place four weeks later, he would have been re-elected by thousands on the merits of his bold, manly and truthful speech.

After his defeat he returned to Washington, when the capitol was threatened. Before troops could arrive from the North, he enrolled himself in the Cassius M. Clay Guard, and patrolled Washington during those days and nights of alarm. He did not wish to enter the three months' service, but as soon as three years' troops were called for, he volunteered. He was chosen colonel of the 5th Regiment, the second of three years' troops from Connecticut, and quickly recruited it from a skeleton to a full regiment of superior men. He was early promoted to brigadier-general, and served with unflagging fidelity wherever duty called through the entire war, resigning June 15th, 1865.

He immediately applied himself with new zest and characteristic diligence to the law, his favorite pursuit, and rapidly regained his extensive practice. In the same year the Legislature again submitted the colored suffrage amendment to the people. The influence of Andrew Johnson was brought to bear against it. Mr. Ferry could not prevail on the State Republican Committee to make an active canvass, and he resolutely took the stump alone for it. He wrote a series of articles, which were subsequently collected by Mr. Stearns, of Boston, published and widely distributed. The amendment was

defeated, but by a majority far less than in 1855. The indifferent Republicans of 1865 have often since wished that they had seconded the earnest endeavor of Mr. Ferry.

In 1866 he was elected to the Senate of the United States to succeed Hon. Lafayette S. Foster, and took his seat at the beginning of the Fortieth Congress, March 4, 1867. As a Senator, he is rigidly faithful to every duty, vigorously studious in law and political science, impartial in investigation, quick in perception, prompt, fearless, independent, and incorruptible in action. Caring far more to be right than to be popular, he is both esteemed and honored. He is genial and brilliant in social qualities, pure and affectionate in domestic life, sincere and devout in religious character. In him, those who know him best see their ideal of a man and of a Senator.

WILLIAM P. FESSENDEN.



WILLIAM PITT FESSENDEN, a son of the Hon. Samuel Fessenden, was born in Boscawen, N. H., October 16, 1806. Before he reached his twelfth year, he was fitted for college under the tutorship of a law student in his father's office, and at the age of seventeen was graduated at Bowdoin College, in the class of 1823. He immediately commenced the study of law, and in 1827, at the age of twenty-one, was admitted to the Portland bar. He immediately opened an office in Bridgeton, Me., and in 1829 removed to Portland.

In 1831, at twenty-five years of age, Mr. Fessenden was elected to the State legislature, of which he was the youngest member. He rose at once to distinction, both as a debater and a legislator. His insight into the details of political economy, for which, in later years, he became so distinguished, were thus early evinced in an important debate on the United States Bank, in which the youthful orator displayed remarkable spirit and ability.

From 1832 to 1839, Mr. Fessenden devoted himself exclusively to his profession, in which he very soon rose to the first rank, both as a counselor and an advocate. In 1838, he was solicited to become a candidate for Congress, but declined. In 1839, he was again chosen to the State legislature, a representative from the city of Portland. Although the House was largely Democratic, and Mr. Fessenden was a Whig always distinguished for an uncompromising assertion of his principles, nevertheless he was placed on the Judiciary Committee, and was made Chairman of the House Committee for revising the Statutes of the State.



W. P. Fassenden

1819-1870

Editor of the "Daily

Mr. Fessenden, in 1840, was nominated by acclamation as the Whig candidate for Congress, and was elected by a vote running considerably beyond the party limit. In Congress he participated in the current debates, and made speeches on the Loan Bill, Army Appropriation Bill, and against the repeal of the Bankrupt Law. In 1843, he was nominated for re-election, but declined, from a choice to remain in the practice of his profession ; and, meantime, he received in the legislature of that year, the votes of the Whig party for a vacant seat in the United States Senate. In 1845, he was again elected to the State legislature, and was also chosen in the following year, but declined.

From 1845 to 1852, Mr. Fessenden was in private life, devoting himself to his profession with a constantly increasing practice and reputation. During this period he was associated with Daniel Webster in an important case before the Supreme Court at Washington, involving a legal question never before discussed in that court. The question was as to "how far the fraudulent acts of an auctioneer in selling property should affect the owner of the property sold—he being no party to the fraud?" In this case, Mr. Fessenden had to contend against the weight and influence of Judge Story's opinion and decision, which were against his client in the court below. But he was successful, and Judge Story's decision was reversed. His argument on that occasion was remarkable for its logical force and legal acuteness, and was said to have won the highest admiration from the most fastidious judges.

Once, during this period (1850) of Mr. Fessenden's career, he was elected to Congress, but his seat was given to his competitor through an error in the returns. Yet he declined to contest the case before Congress, from an unwillingness to serve in that body. This unwillingness he had decisively expressed in advance to the Conventions of the Whig and Free-Soil parties, which, against his wishes, had insisted upon nominating him.

Mr. Fessenden was a member of the National Convention which nominated Gen. Harrison for the Presidency in 1840 ; and of the

National Convention which nominated Gen. Taylor in 1848; and also of that which nominated Gen. Scott in 1852. He was a member of the Maine legislature in 1853, the Senate of which gave him a majority vote for the position of Senator in Congress. But the House, being Democratic, failed by four votes to concur, and no election was effected at that session. The same House, however, though opposed to him in politics, associated him with the Hon. Reuel Williams in negotiating the purchase of the large body of wild lands of Massachusetts, lying in Maine, which was successfully accomplished.

In the following year, we find Mr. Fessenden in the State legislature, both branches of which were Democratic. But the Kansas-Nebraska question operating as a disturbing element, he was now elected United States Senator by both branches—a union being formed of the Whigs and Free-Soil Democrats. This event may be said to have been the preliminary step toward establishing the Republican party in Maine—the necessity of which, after the action of the Southern Whigs on the Nebraska Bill, Mr. Fessenden earnestly maintained. He was strongly opposed to this bill; and shortly after taking his seat in the Senate, and on the night when it was passed, he delivered one of the most electric and effective speeches that had been made against it. This great effort established his reputation in the Senate as one of its ablest members. Among other important speeches of Mr. Fessenden subsequently made in the Senate, is his speech on our relations with England; also that on Kansas Affairs, and on the President's Message in 1856; on the Iowa Senatorial election in 1857, and on the Lecompton Constitution in 1858. In the general debates and business of the Senate, he has from the beginning taken a prominent part.

In 1859, by a unanimous vote of his party in the legislature, and without the formality of a previous nomination, Mr. Fessenden was re-elected to the United States Senate for the term of six years.

Toward the close of this term of service in the Senate, he was appointed, by President Lincoln, Secretary of the Treasury, in place of Salmon P. Chase, who had been elevated to the Supreme Bench. In

the Thirty-seventh Congress, he was Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, a position which he held until appointed to the Cabinet in 1864. In his capacity as Chairman of this important committee, Mr. Fessenden's labors were of a very arduous character. In the Thirty-seventh and Thirty-eighth Congresses there were all the vast appropriations of the Government to provide for, besides the labor of originating and putting in operation a financial system which would enable the Government to meet the demands of a civil war, waged on a scale of colossal proportions. In the accomplishment of all this, Mr. Fessenden bore a very prominent and conspicuous part. As Chairman of the Committee on Reconstruction, very much labor and care devolved upon him. He was authorized to write the Report of this Committee, which, in respect to ability, may be considered one of the capital achievements of his life.

As a laborer in the important work belonging to a legislator and statesman, probably few, if any, excel Mr. Fessenden. For clear, incisive common sense, the rarest and most excellent quality of a Senator, he is eminently distinguished. "There is no man in Congress," says one, "whose judgment is more true, whose discretion is more absolute, or whose conviction is more sincere." In great sagacity, catholic comprehension, and in that just estimate of what is practicable, he is probably unsurpassed.

Mr. Fessenden is equally eminent as a debater. He thinks closely, clearly, and accurately. He speaks readily—being prepared to discuss on the instant almost any subject that may be presented. His speeches are entirely extemporaneous, and are so accurately pronounced that they can be put in type without the change of a sentence or a word. And then there is scarcely a subject presented on which he does not have something to say—his remarks being brief and to the point. In opposition he is almost always reasonable, although, at times, the stern integrity of his character may render him somewhat impatient, particularly when in debate he is confronting mere rhetoric and sentimentality in place of argument and sound sense. But he neither traduces nor defies his opponents; and his advocacy of

measures is all the more effective that while firm, prudent, and pointed, he is, at the same time, usually genial and always respectful.

Mr. Fessenden's course and bearing in the progress of the reconstruction measures were invariably dignified and commendable. No one was more fully aware than he that the difficulties of the situation were to be surmounted, not by vituperation and crimination, nor by petty jealousies or lofty moral indignation; but rather by tranquil firmness and honest argument. Differing from the President, he forbore, however, to question his sincerity; and while convinced that certain conditions of reorganization were indispensable, he refrained from either exasperating the late rebel population, on the one hand, or flattering them, on the other.

Mr. Fessenden, as is well known, was one of those of the Republican party who, at the conclusion of President Johnson's Impeachment trial, voted for his acquittal.

In the "opinion" which he prepared on this occasion, he said: "It would be contrary to every principle of justice, to the clearest dictates of right, to try and condemn any man, however guilty he may be thought, for an offense not charged, of which no notice has been given to him, and against which he has had no opportunity to defend himself."

After proceeding at great length and with much learning to give reasons why he regarded the President not guilty on the several articles, he added: "In the case of an elective Chief Magistrate of a great and powerful people, living under a written Constitution, there is much more at stake in such a proceeding than the fate of the individual. The office of President is one of the great co-ordinate branches of the Government, having its defined powers, privileges, and duties; as essential to the very framework of the Government as any other, and to be touched with as careful a hand. Anything which conduces to weaken its hold upon the respect of the people, to break down the barriers which surround it, to make it the mere sport of temporary majorities, tends to the great injury of our Government, and inflicts a wound upon constitutional liberty. It is evident, then, as it seems

to me, that the offense for which a Chief Magistrate is removed from office, and the power intrusted to him by the people transferred to other hands, and especially where the hands which receive it are to be the same which take it from him, should be of such a character as to commend itself at once to the minds of all right-thinking men as, beyond all question, an adequate cause. It should be free from the taint of party, leave no reasonable ground of suspicion upon the motives of those who inflict the penalty, and address itself to the country and the civilized world as a measure justly called for by the gravity of the crime and the necessity for its punishment. Anything less than this, especially where the offense is one not defined by any law, would, in my judgment, not be justified by a calm and considerate public opinion as a cause for removal of a President of the United States. And its inevitable tendency would be to shake the faith of the friends of constitutional liberty in the permanency of our free institutions and the capacity of man for self-government."

Mr. Fessenden's vote to acquit the President subjected him to considerable censure from a majority of the Republican press of the country. Subsequently, on declining an invitation to a public dinner tendered to him by some distinguished citizens of Boston, he took occasion to explain and defend his action in the case. Whatever may have been the surprise and regret of many of Mr. Fessenden's friends at his decision in this momentous trial, no one can reasonably call in question the integrity and purity of the motives by which in this, as in his other public acts, he seems to have been actuated.

FREDERICK T. FRELINGHUYSEN.

 FREDERICK T. FRELINGHUYSEN was born at Millstone, Somerset County, New Jersey, August 4, 1817. He is a grandson of Frederick Frelinghuysen, a member of the Continental Congress, who in 1777 resigned his seat to join the army, in which he served as captain during the remainder of the Revolutionary war, and was subsequently in 1793 a Senator in Congress. He is nephew and adopted son of Hon. Theodore Frelinghuysen, Senator in Congress from 1829 to 1835, and Whig candidate for Vice-President in 1844.

The subject of this sketch graduated at Rutger's College in 1836, and having studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1839. He was appointed attorney-general of New Jersey in 1861, and was re-appointed in 1866. He was appointed by the governor, and subsequently elected by the Legislature a Senator in Congress to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of William Wright, and took his seat January 24, 1867. He served on the Committees on the Judiciary, Naval Affairs and Claims. In the Impeachment trial he pronounced an elaborate opinion that Mr. Johnson, having manifested "willful, persistent and defiant disregard of law," was guilty of a high misdemeanor requiring his removal from office. He maintained that "to suffer the Executive successfully to assert the right to adjudicate on the validity of laws claimed to be inferentially, though not in terms, contrary to the Constitution, and to execute such as he approves, and violate such as he condemns, would be to permit the government to be destroyed." He ably supported the Reconstruction measures, and spoke feelingly in favor of relieving the destitute in the South. His service in the Senate, though short, ending at the close of the Fortieth Congress, March 4, 1869, was honorable to himself and his constituents, and useful to the country.

JOSEPH S. FOWLER.

OSEPH S. FOWLER was born near Steubenville, Ohio, August 31, 1822. When quite young he was left dependent on his own resources, but by industry and perseverance succeeded in obtaining a collegiate education, graduating at Franklin College in 1843. In that institution he was Professor of Mathematics for four years; and, subsequently, was Principal of a Seminary near Nashville, Tennessee. On the breaking out of the rebellion he warmly espoused the Union cause. In September, 1861, he left the State under the forty days' proclamation of Jefferson Davis, and went to Springfield, Illinois, where he resided until April, 1862. Returning to Tennessee, he was appointed Comptroller under Governor Johnson, and took a prominent part in reorganizing the State government. In 1865 he was elected a Senator in Congress from Tennessee, but was not admitted to his seat until July, 1866. He was elected as a Republican, and acted with that party during the early part of his term in the Senate. In the impeachment trial he voted for the acquittal of Andrew Johnson, and from that time supported his policy, and generally acted with the Democratic minority. He was one of thirteen Senators who voted against the resolution proposing the Suffrage Amendment, which he opposed in several speeches during the preceding discussion. He thought that the extension of the suffrage should be "left to the reflection of the people," rather than be "put in the Constitution an arbitrary and fixed rule that cannot be changed and cannot be reformed without revolution." A portion of his opposition arose from the fact that the Amendment did not include women, and men who were disfranchised on account of participation in the rebellion.

JAMES W. GRIMES.

AMES W. GRIMES was born in Deering, Hillsborough County, New Hampshire, October 10, 1816. He pursued his preparatory studies at Hampton Academy, and graduated at Dartmouth College in 1836. In hopes of finding a wider and more congenial field of operations he removed to the West, and settled in Iowa, where he practiced his profession as a lawyer. In 1838 he was elected to the first general Assembly of the territory of Iowa, and held a seat in that body, by re-election, for several years. He held the office of governor of the State of Iowa from 1854 to 1858. He was elected a United States Senator from that State in 1859, and in 1865 was re-elected for the term ending March 3, 1871. He served as chairman of the Committee on the District of Columbia, and chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs, a position of much responsibility during the war. He was a member of the Committees on Public Lands, Public Buildings, Appropriations, and the Special Joint Committee on the Rebellious States. In 1865 he received from Iowa College the degree of LL. D. In the Impeachment trial he incurred severe censure from many of his political friends by voting for the acquittal of the President. In his opinion of the case, he said, "I cannot suffer my judgment of the law governing this case to be influenced by political considerations, I cannot agree to destroy the harmonious working of the Constitution for the sake of getting rid of an unacceptable President. Whatever may be my opinion of the incumbent, I cannot consent to trifle with the high office he holds. I can do nothing which by implication may be construed into an approval of impeachments as a part of future political machinery." On account of the failure of his health, Mr. Grimes resigned his seat in the Senate in the fall of 1868, and resided several months in Europe with beneficial results.





Engraving by F. G. Frazee

Jas. Garfield

20th President of the United States

1881-1885

JAMES HARLAN.

 JAMES HARLAN was born in Illinois, August 26, 1820. At the age of three years, his parents removed with him to Indiana, where he was employed, during his minority, with his father in agricultural pursuits. In the year 1841 he entered the Preparatory Department of Asbury University, then under the presidency of the present Bishop Simpson. Upon meager means obtained by teaching at intervals, he managed to graduate at that institution with honor in 1845.

In the winter of 1845, being elected to the Professorship of Languages in Iowa City College, he removed to that city. Here, among strangers, he early won for himself an enviable reputation for industry, ability, and an unswerving integrity.

In 1847 he was elected by the people Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Iowa. This was no ordinary compliment to a young man who had resided in the State less than two years when the election occurred, especially when taken in connection with the fact that his opponent was the Hon. Charles Mason, who graduated at the head of his class at the Military Academy at West Point, had served as Chief-Justice of the Federal Court of the Territory during the entire period of its existence, was conceded by all parties to be a gentleman of ability and unblemished reputation, and who, as a candidate, was the choice of the party which had, up to this election, been uniformly triumphant in the State and Territory, and continued so until the Kansas-Nebraska issue, except when Mr. Harlan was a candidate.

In 1848, Mr. Harlan was superseded by Hon. Thomas H. Benton,

Jr., the officials insisting that the latter was elected by a majority of seventeen votes. The count, however, is now universally conceded to have been fraudulent. In this year he was admitted to the bar, and commenced the practice of law in Iowa City. In this profession, while he remained in it, he was eminently successful; but his friends were unwilling to leave him at the bar, however agreeable to him, or however brilliant his prospects for a distinguished career in the profession.

In 1850, the people, eager to trust and honor the young man who in every public position had proved himself worthy of their confidence, nominated him for Governor; but, not being of constitutional age for that office, he was compelled to disappoint them by declining the proffered honor.

Continuing in the practice of law until 1853, he was then, by the Annual Conference of the Methodist Church, elected President of the Mount Pleasant Collegiate Institute, which during the winter following was re-organized with an amended Charter, under the name of the "IOWA WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY." His industry and energy, with his varied learning and strong sense, compelled the same success here that had attended all his undertakings thus far, and which has never since deserted him.

After two years of service at the head of the University, on the 6th of January, 1855, he was elected by the Iowa Legislature a United States Senator for the term commencing on the 4th of March, 1855, and was admitted to his seat Dec. 3d following. Upon this election he resigned the presidency of the University, and was elected Professor of Political Economy and International Law.

His first formal speech in the Senate was made March 27th, 1856, on the admission of Kansas, and was regarded then, and must be held by the student of history hereafter, as one of the ablest arguments on the right and finally successful side of that great contest. Such men as Butler of South Carolina, Cass, Benjamin, Toucey, and Douglas soon learned to respect the sturdy logic of the young debater from the West. His speech upon the occasion of presenting the

memorial of James H. Lane, praying the acceptance of the memorial of the members of the Kansas Territorial Legislature for the admission of their Territory into the Union as a State, was a terrible denunciation of the great wrongs which the dominant party was inflicting on Kansas.

By a party vote, stimulated by this recent arraignment of the Democracy, it was, January 12th, 1857, resolved by the Senate, "That James Harlan is not entitled to his seat as a Senator from Iowa." The character of this decision may be understood from the following brief statement of facts: The Senate and House of Representatives of Iowa agreed to go into joint session to elect a Senator and Judges. After the joint session had met and adjourned from day to day for some time, it was discovered that the Whigs were about to be successful, and the Democratic Senators absented themselves for the purpose of preventing an election. A quorum of the joint session met, however, and a clear majority of both houses elected Mr. Harlan. Two years after, the matter was brought up on the protest of the Democratic members of the State Senate, and Mr. Harlan ousted as above stated. During these two years of peaceful occupation of his seat, a Presidential campaign was passed quietly, which might have been endangered by such party tyranny in the Senate, and Fremont made President—hence, no doubt, the delay.

But Mr. Harlan repaired immediately to Iowa City, where the State Legislature was in session. He arrived on Friday evening, and was re-elected on the day following. He spent a day or two at his home in Mount Pleasant, returned to Washington, was re-sworn, and resumed his seat on the 29th of the same month, only seventeen days after his expulsion.

In 1861 he was re-elected for a second Senatorial term without a dissenting voice among his party. During his entire service in the Senate, he has acted in harmony with the Republican party, which for four or five years was in a meager minority. He, however, commanded the respect of his political opponents by his modest and yet fearless and able support of the measures which his judgment and

conscience approved, by his unwearied industry in the examination of every subject of practical legislation, and by his evident honesty of purpose and integrity of character. The leading measures supported by the Republican party had few, if any, more able advocates, and none more efficient or successful either in the Senate or before the people. The published debates of Congress show that he argued and elucidated with great clearness and conclusiveness every phase of the question of slavery and emancipation, in all their social, legal, and economic ramifications.

He was the earnest advocate of the early construction of the Pacific Railroad, had made himself, by a careful examination, master of the whole subject, and was consequently appointed a member of the Senate Committee on the Pacific Railroad.

As Chairman of the Committee on Public Lands he exerted a controlling influence in shaping the policy of the Government in the disposition of the public domain, so as to aid in the construction of railroads and the improvement of other avenues of intercourse, as well as to advance the individual interests of the frontier settler by facilitating his acquisition of a landed estate, and also by securing a permanent fund for the support of common schools for the masses, and other institutions of learning. Under his guidance the laws for the survey, sale, and pre-emption of the public lands were harmonized, and the Homestead Bill so modified as to render it a practical and beneficent measure for the indigent settlers, and at the same time but slightly detrimental to the public treasury.

Immediately after he was placed upon the Senate Committee upon Indian Affairs, it became manifest that he had made himself master of that whole subject in all its details. He consequently exercised a leading influence on the legislation of Congress affecting our intercourse with these children of the forest; humanity and justice to them, as well as the safety of the frontier settlements from savage warfare, being with him cardinal elements to guide him in shaping the policy of the Government. The effect of the repeal, over Mr. Harlan's earnest protest, of the beneficent features of the Indian In-

tercourse laws, under the lead of Senator Hunter, which all admit laid the foundation for our recent Indian wars, furnishes a marked illustration of the safety of his counsels in these affairs.

As a member of the Senate Committee on Agriculture, he was the earnest advocate of every measure calculated to develop and advance that great national interest, and prepared the only report marked by scientific research made on that subject by the Senate Committee during the last ten years. He gave his earnest support to the Agricultural College Bill, though in conflict with his views of the proper policy for the disposition of the public lands, because he regarded it as the only opportunity for laying firmly the foundation for these nurseries of scientific agriculture, which must prove of vast consequence for good to the whole people of this continent and the toiling millions of the Old World.

It is impossible in this brief narrative to reproduce even the substance of the many elaborate speeches made by him in the Senate and before the people. Among them may be mentioned as a sample of the whole, his speech in reply to Senator Hunter of Virginia, during the winter of 1860-61, immediately preceding the breaking out of the rebellion. This speech was characteristic in clearness, method, directness, force, and conclusiveness, and was regarded by his associates in the Senate as the great speech of the session. In the commencement he examines and exposes in their order every pretext for secession, and proceeds to charge upon the authors of the then incipient rebellion, with unsurpassed vigor and force, that the loss of political power was their real grievance. He indicated the impossibility of any compromise on the terms proposed by the Southern leaders without dishonor, and pointed out the means of an adjustment alike honorable to the South and North, requiring no retraction of principle on the part of any one, by admitting the Territories into the Union as States. He warned the South against a resort to an arbitrament of the sword; predicted the impossibility of their securing a division of the States of the Northwest from the Middle and New England States; the certainty and comparative dis-

patch with which an armed rebellion would be crushed, and concluded with a most powerful appeal to these conspirators not to plunge the country into such a sea of blood. Upon the conclusion of this speech, four-fifths of the Union Senators crowded around to congratulate him, and a state of excitement prevailed on the floor of the Senate for some moments such as had seldom before been witnessed in that body.

He was a member of the Peace Congress; but after seeing the members sent from the slave States, and witnessing the election of Ex-President John Tyler presiding officer, he predicted that its deliberations would end in a miserable failure.

He was also selected by the Union members of the House and Senate as a member of the Union Congressional Committee for the management of the Presidential campaign of 1864. Being the only member of the committee on the part of the Senate who devoted his whole time to this work, he became the active organ of the committee—organized an immense working force, regulated its finances with ability and unimpeachable fidelity, employed a large number of presses in Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York in printing reading matter for the masses, which resulted in the distribution of many millions of documents among the people at home, and in all our great armies. To his labors, therefore, the country is doubtless largely indebted for the triumphant success of the Republican candidate.

In the month of March, 1865, Mr. Harlan was nominated by President Lincoln for the office of Secretary of the Interior, and the nomination was unanimously confirmed by the Senate without reference to a committee. Resigning his seat in the Senate, he accepted the office, and on the 15th of May, entered upon the discharge of his duties as a member of President Johnson's cabinet.

His short administration of the Department of the Interior was characterized by untiring industry and earnest devotion to the public service. The gradual divergence of the line of policy adopted by the President from the principles of the Republican party, led Mr.

Harlan to sever his connection with the cabinet, by his resignation, which took effect September 1, 1866. Mr. Harlan left the office with the approval of the public for the course he had pursued, and the sincerely expressed regrets of the President himself.

Previous to his resignation of the office of Secretary of the Interior, Mr. Harlan had been re-elected by the Legislature of Iowa to a seat in the Senate of the United States, for the term commencing March 4, 1867.

On resuming his seat in the Senate, he was assigned to service in that body, on the Committees on the District of Columbia, Union Pacific Railroad, Post-Offices and Post Roads, and Foreign Relations, of the first of which he is Chairman. This Committee is one of the most laborious belonging to the Senate, having in charge all the public interests of the District; and in addition to the ordinary duties of the Committee, Mr. Harlan is now engaged, under the authority of a resolution of the Senate, in codifying the local laws of the District, a work that requires care, precision, and legal learning of no common order.

While Mr. Harlan, since his return to the Senate, has spoken on a variety of subjects, his principal efforts have been his speech on reconstruction, delivered on the 10th of February, 1868, and his opinion as a Senator in the Impeachment Trial of President Johnson. Of the former, it is not unjust to others to say, that no speech made during that long debate, presented the questions at issue in a clearer light, or in language better suited to the comprehension of the masses of the people. It received the warmest encomiums of Mr. Harlan's political associates in the Senate, and thousands of copies were subscribed for and circulated as a campaign document, by the members of the two houses of Congress. Of the opinion, it is sufficient to say, that it is a strictly legal document, applying the law to the facts as established by the evidence, and so clear and convincing that none can doubt the sincerity and uprightness of the vote which followed it.

Mr. Harlan is a man of strong political convictions. This is shown by the whole tenor of his political life. Early in life, long

before he occupied official station, he was identified, in feeling and principles, with the anti-slavery party of the nation. Almost at the outset of our late civil war, with the eye of a statesman, he foresaw that the rebellion could only result in the enfranchisement of the slaves of the South, and their elevation to the dignity of American citizens. So believing, he always acted consistently with that belief. He was among the first—if not *the* first—to advocate in the Senate the organization of the colored men everywhere in defense of the Union ; and since the close of the war, he has uniformly spoken and voted in favor of conferring upon them those rights of citizenship which they have honorably won by their endurance and bravery on the battle-field ; thus proving himself the worthy representative of a State which has just established impartial suffrage by the popular vote of its citizens.

In the Presidential campaign of 1868, Mr. Harlan took an active part in promoting the success of the Republican cause. To that end he addressed numerous and large audiences in the States of Pennsylvania, Iowa, Missouri, and Indiana. On the stump, Mr. Harlan is a popular and powerful speaker. Natural and graceful in his manner, candid in his presentation of facts, skillful in portraying whatever tends to arouse the human sensibilities, and logical in his mode of reasoning, he has few superiors as a popular orator.

Senator Harlan is in the prime of life, a Christian gentleman, a dignified Senator, of good habits, and in the enjoyment of vigorous health. He is an example to be admired and imitated by the young men of our country. As a youth he worked his way through college, acquiring an education in the face of trials and obstacles that would have deterred others from such an undertaking. As a man, by sterling integrity, a faithful discharge of his duties, and a close adherence to principle, he has earned the proud position he now occupies before the country, and in the affections of the people of his State. He is a bright exemplar of the benign influence of our free institutions, illustrating that, with energy and application, the poor and lowly may lift themselves up to the highest stations.



J. H. Ward

JOHN S. HARRIS.

 JOHN S. HARRIS was born at Truxton, Cortland County, New York, December 18, 1825. Having received a common school education, he removed to Milwaukee, Wisconsin in 1846, where he engaged in commercial and financial pursuits. In 1863 he removed to Concordia parish, Louisiana, where he purchased several thousand acres of land and engaged in the cultivation of cotton. He was very successful in his business although he met with some reverses, twice losing no less than one hundred thousand dollars by breaks in the levees, through which the Mississippi overflowed his plantations.

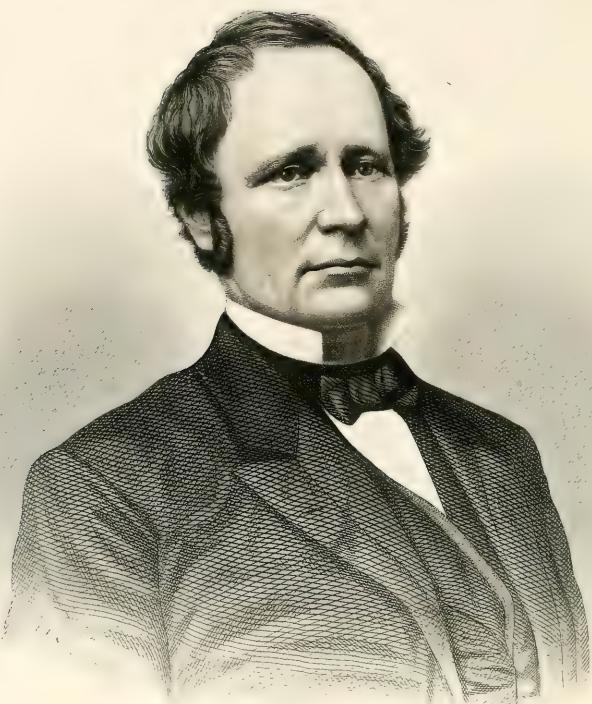
Although from the North, and holding radical Republican views of politics, yet, being a large planter and a permanent resident, he was favorably regarded even by the late rebel element of his locality, and was unanimously elected a member of the Convention to frame a new Constitution for Louisiana. After taking an active part in its proceedings he was chosen by the Convention one of a committee of seven to direct the political affairs of the State until the inauguration of the new State government. The committee having called upon the Legislature to assemble in June, 1868, Gen. Buchanan, commander of the military district, regarded their action as an invasion of his prerogative, and placed the members of the committee under arrest. He at last yielded, however, and the Legislature assembled on the day designated by the committee, Mr. Harris taking his seat in the Senate. He was soon after elected to the Senate of the United States, and took his seat in that body July 17, 1868. He introduced a resolution requesting the Committee on Commerce to inquire into the expediency of the government of the United States taking charge of the levees of the lower Mississippi. This resulted in a bill chartering a corporation for the promotion of the important interests involved.

JOHN B. HENDERSON.



JOHN B. HENDERSON was born near Danville, Virginia, November 16, 1826. He removed to Missouri with his parents when a child, spent his boyhood on a farm, and after obtaining an academical education, occupied several years in school teaching. He studied law; was admitted to the bar in 1848, and the same year was a member of the Missouri Legislature, to which he was again elected six years later. In 1856 he was a presidential elector on the Buchanan ticket, and two years after was defeated as a candidate for Congress, by a large majority. In 1860 he was a candidate for presidential elector, pledging himself to vote for either Douglas or Bell, in order to carry the State against Breckinridge, the Secession candidate. At the same time he was again a candidate for Congress, but was defeated. In the following year he took a prominent part as a Union member of the State Convention, called to determine whether Missouri should secede. In June, 1861, he procured arms and equipped a regiment of loyal State militia, and went into the service with them. He was appointed in January, 1862, to fill the vacancy occasioned by the expulsion of Trusten Polk from the United States Senate, and was elected in 1863 for the term which ended in 1869.

Mr. Henderson was placed on the Committee on Finance and on the Committee on Indian Affairs, of the latter of which he was chairman. He was a diligent and active member of the Senate, and was one of the Republican members who declined to give his vote for the impeachment of President Johnson, and presented, on voting, an elaborate opinion upon the case. In concluding his opinion, he alleged that his oath compelled him to examine the case from a legal and not a party point of view, and insisted that the question was simply one of guilt under the charges presented by the House.



J. A. Hendrichs

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THOMAS A. HENDRICKS.

THOMAS A. HENDRICKS was born in Muskingum County, Ohio, September 7, 1819. He was educated at South Hanover College. He studied law at Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, where he completed his legal studies in 1843. He soon after settled in Indiana, of which State his uncle, Hon. William Hendricks, was an early Governor, and a United States Senator.

In the profession of law, Mr. Hendricks met with marked success, and attained great eminence. His professional business soon ceased to be of a mere local character, his practice extending largely into the highest courts of the State and the nation. In 1848, he was elected a member of the Indiana Legislature. In 1850, he was an active member of the Convention to amend the State Constitution. In 1851, he was elected a Representative in Congress from Indiana, and served two terms.

In 1855, Mr. Hendricks was appointed, by President Pierce, Commissioner of the General Land Office. During the four years of his service in this capacity, more business was transacted by the General Land Office than at any previous or subsequent period. Over four hundred thousand land patents were issued; and the land sold, located by warrants, and taken by grants, amounted to eighty millions of acres.

In 1860, Mr. Hendricks was the candidate of the Democratic party for Governor of Indiana, but was defeated. Two years later, his party having carried the State, he was elected a United States Senator for the term ending March 4, 1869.

In 1868, the name of Mr. Hendricks was prominently before the New York National Convention for the nomination as the Democratic candidate for the Presidency. It was deeply regretted by many of his party that he was not chosen as their leader in the great political struggle which ensued. He actively participated in the campaign, however, as the Democratic candidate for Governor of Indiana. After an exciting campaign and a close contest, he was defeated by a majority of about one thousand.

In the Senate of the United States, Mr. Hendricks was justly regarded as the ablest in the ranks of the minority. With great argumentative ability, and never-failing good humor, he advocated the policy of his party in opposition to the Reconstruction Acts of Congress. His great arguments on the Freedman's Bureau, the Civil Rights Bill, and on various questions of Reconstruction, were regarded by all as masterly presentations of Democratic principles and policy.

The career of Mr. Hendricks in the Senate has been marked by so much ability and courtesy as to win the respect and regard of his political opponents. In the course of a discussion in the Thirty-ninth Congress, a Republican Senator pronounced Mr. Hendricks "the best natured man in the Senate." On another occasion a Republican Senator remarked in debate, that if he had as much respect for the political opinions of Mr. Hendricks as for his abilities, they would seldom disagree.

As a speaker, Mr. Hendricks is graceful, deliberate, and impressive. He states legal and political propositions with clearness, and deduces conclusions with great logical skill, constantly giving evidence of careful investigation and thorough understanding of his subject. When feeling is to be aroused, or action to be urged, his earnestness of manner gives great weight to his appeals. He uses little ornament, relying for effect rather on plain statement than on rhetorical flourish.

On the 30th of January, 1868, Mr. Hendricks delivered in the Senate a speech on the Supplementary Reconstruction Bill then

pending, from the concluding portion of which we make the following extracts:

“ What objection have you to the constitutions of the Southern States as amended by the people ? For two years you have made war against this policy ; for two years you have kept these States out of the Union so far as representation was concerned ; for two years you have kept this country disturbed and distracted ; trade, commerce, and business have been uncertain and shivering ; industry has been fearful to put forth its hand, or capital to trust to any enterprise ; the spirit of harmony and of union has been passing away from both sections of the country, because of the strife that you have thus kept up. For what have you done it ? What end have you attained ? * * * You can lay your hand of logic upon but one thing. * * * You have taken the robes of political power off the shoulders of white men, and you have put them upon the shoulders of negroes. * * *

“ A republican form of government is a form in which the people make their own laws through legislators selected by themselves, execute their laws through an executive department chosen by themselves, and administer their laws through their own courts. Is not that as near a republican form of government as you can have ? That was the state of things when the Congressional policy sent five armies into the Southern States, when ten Governors were deposed by the paramount authority of the military power. * * * The property, the life, and the liberty of this people are placed at the control of the military authority ; and this is a policy that is called a policy of reconstruction, of restoration, and this you claim to be done under the guarantee clause which directs this Government to guarantee to each State a republican form of government ! You find no other point in the Constitution where you can stand. There is not a rock in the Constitution large enough for your feet to stand upon except this one, that it is your duty to guarantee a republican form of government to these States ; and in the exercise of that power, in the discharge of that duty, you establish a military rule and despotism.

which is defined in the language of the Declaration of Independence, declaring the offenses of the British Crown toward the Colonies.

“ This is all under the pretext of the guarantee clause. * * * I had some respect for it when it was claimed as under the military authority of the President, because when you say it is a military necessity I do not know any answer to that. Military necessity has no reply except obedience; but to say to an intelligent people that you are guaranteeing a republican form of government to States, when you are subjecting all the legitimate and rightful authority of their State governments to military rule, is, in my humble judgment, an insult to an intelligent people.

“ I know the answer to this very well; that your establishment in the Southern States is only provisional; that it is only to last for a little time; and that out of its ruins there will ‘spring up phoenix-like to Jove,’ republican forms of government. You lay the foundations of free institutions on the solid rock of despotism, and expect it to grow up to a beautiful structure. I do not believe in the doctrine that you can do wrong and expect good to follow. I believe in the doctrine that good is the result of good, and that from a pure fountain. * * *

“ Mr. President, my colleague has spoken of a column—the column of Congressional Reconstruction—and has said that ‘it is not hewn of a single stone, but is composed of many blocks.’ Sir, I think he is right. Its foundation is the hard flint-stone of military rule, brought from the quarries of Austria, and upon that foundation rests the block from Africa and it is thence carried to its topmost point with fragments of our broken institutions. That column will not stand. It will fall, and its architects will be crushed beneath its ruins. In its stead, the people will uphold thirty-seven stately and beautiful columns, pure and white as Parian marble, upon which shall rest for ever the grand structure of the American Union.”



McDonald

THE VILLAGE OF MONTGOMERY

JACOB M. HOWARD.

 JACOB M. HOWARD was born in Shaftsbury, Vermont, July 10th, 1805. His father was a substantial farmer of Bennington County, and the sixth in descent from William Howard, who settled in Braintree, Massachusetts, in 1635, five years after the town was established.

The subject of this sketch, although frequently in requisition to assist in farm labors, early evinced a taste for study, which he was permitted at intervals to gratify by attendance at the district school. Subsequently pursuing preparatory studies in the academies of Bennington and Brattleboro, he entered Williams College in 1826. His studies were much interrupted, in consequence of his want of means and the necessity of teaching to pay expenses, yet, with characteristic perseverance, he made his way through college, and graduated in 1830. He immediately commenced the study of law in Ware, Massachusetts, and in July, 1832, he removed to Detroit, then the capital of Michigan Territory, where he was admitted to the bar in the following year. In 1835 he was married to Catharine A. Shaw, a young lady whose acquaintance he had formed at Ware.

In his professional career, Mr. Howard was ever faithful to the interests of his clients, bringing to their service great industry, a mind well stored with legal learning, much native sagacity and force of logic.

In 1835 he was a Whig candidate for a seat in the Convention to form a State Constitution, but was not elected.

In the controversy of 1834 and 1835 between the Territory and Ohio, respecting a tier of townships which had ever belonged to Michigan, on her southern border, embracing the present city of Toledo, Mr. Howard took strong ground against the claim of Ohio;

and, having employed his pen in repelling it, finally, when Mr. Mason, the territorial governor, thought it necessary to employ military force against a similar force from Ohio, Mr. Howard volunteered, and proceeded with arms to make good the arguments he had advanced. The expedition was, however, productive only of wasteful expenditure to the Territory, and a large slaughter of pigs and poultry.

In 1838, Mr. Howard was a member of the State Legislature, and took an active part in the enactment of the code known as the Revised Laws of that year; in the railroad legislation of the State; and in examining into the condition of the brood of "free banks," known as "wildcat banks," that had come into pernicious existence under the free-banking system enacted the year before. This examination developed such a scene of fraud and corruption in the local currency of the State, that the paper of those banks soon lost all credit; and the State Supreme Court, as soon as the question was fairly brought before it, adjudged them to be all unconstitutional and void; a decision in which the community most heartily acquiesced.

In the presidential canvass of 1840, which resulted in the election of General Harrison, Mr. Howard was a candidate for Congress, and was elected by 1,500 majority. During the three sessions of the Twenty-seventh Congress he engaged but seldom in debate, but was an attentive observer of the scenes which passed before him. His feelings and opinions had ever been against slavery, its influences, its crimes, its power. John Quincy Adams and Joshua R. Giddings, both members of the House, championed the anti-slavery cause. Henry A. Wise, Mr. Gilmer, and Mr. Mallory, of Virginia, and Thomas F. Marshall, of Kentucky, were the leading combatants on the other side. The conflict, which occupied a large portion of that Congress, was fierce and fiery.

With what interest did Mr. Howard, then a new member and a young man, drink in the words of the "old man eloquent," as he unfolded his mighty argument against the "sum of all villainies," and the dangers it menaced to the liberties of our country!

He left that Congress with the full conviction that the final solution of the great question would be in a civil war, though hoping that some measure might be devised less radical and terrible, that should calm the deeply-stirred passions of the people. He remained steadfastly attached to the Whig party, and in the presidential canvasses of 1844, 1848, and 1852, exerted himself to promote the election of Mr. Clay, General Taylor, and General Scott.

In the trial of a slave case, under the fugitive slave act of 1850, in the United States Circuit Court, before Judge McLean, he denounced that act as a defiance, a challenge to the conflict of arms, by the South to the North, and predicted that sooner or later it would be accepted; and characterized its author (Mr. Mason, of Virginia,) as an enemy of his country and a traitor to the Union.

On the defeat of General Scott he resolved to withdraw entirely from politics; but on the passage of the act of 1854, repealing the Missouri compromise, he again entered the political arena in resistance to that flagrant encroachment of the slave power. He was among those who took the earliest steps to effect an organization for the overthrow of the Democratic party of the North, which had become the willing ally of the pro-slavery or secession party of the South. He saw that such a party must embrace all the elements of popular opposition to the principles and aims of the slaveholders. The old Whig party, never as a party having made its influence felt in opposition to those principles and aims, had become powerless as an agency whereby to combat them—or even to move the hearts of the people. Yet by far the greater portion of its members in the free states were in sentiment opposed to the schemes of the slave power, now too manifest to be misapprehended or viewed with indifference. To count upon this portion of the Whig party was obvious. The great end to be obtained was a firm and cordial union of this with two other elements, the old Abolition party proper, and the "Free Soil Democracy." In Michigan, these last two had already coalesced and had put in nomination a State ticket, at the head of which was the name of Hon. Kinsley S. Bingham as their candidate for Governor. A call, numerously signed, was issued, inviting all freemen of the

State, opposed to the recent measures of Congress on the subject of slavery, to assemble at Jackson on the 6th of July. The assemblage was numerous, and the utmost harmony and good feeling prevailed. "Whigs," "Abolitionists," "Free Soilers," and "Liberty Men," met and shook hands like a band of brothers. A deep seriousness pervaded the whole, and a prescience of the events soon to develop themselves, seemed to teach them that this was the "beginning of the end" of slavery. Mr. Howard was the sole author of the series of resolutions that were adopted. They strongly denounced slavery as a moral, social and political evil, as a source of national weakness and endless internal strife; they condemned the repeal of the Missouri compromise and the consequent opening of all the new territories to slavery; they encouraged in no equivocal terms the free settlers of Kansas to resist the tyranny and outrages with which the slave power was seeking to crush them. They went further—they demanded, not the restoration of that compromise, but, as an indemnity for the future, as just and necessary safeguards against the grasping ambition of slaveholders, the banishment of slavery, by law, from all the territories of the United States, from the District of Columbia, and all other places owned by the Government. They invoked the cordial co-operation of all persons and parties for the attainment of these great ends; and gave to the new party there consolidated the name of "REPUBLICANS,"* by which it has since been known.

Mr. Bingham was here again nominated for Governor, and Mr. Howard, against his own earnest remonstrances, put in nomination for Attorney-General of the State. At the ensuing November election, the whole ticket was elected by a large majority, notwithstanding the earnest appeals of General Cass and other speakers from the stump, struggling against the popular current.

Mr. Howard was a member of the committee on the address at the first national Republican convention held at Pittsburgh, February 22d, 1856. He held the office of Attorney-General of Michigan for six years, and left it January 1st, 1861. While holding that impor-

* Mr. Greeley suggested the name of "Democratic Republican party," but as the Democratic party had been the authors and abettors of the measures complained of, the new party rejected even any *nominal* connection with them.

tant office, his incessant labors attested his fidelity to his trust; and the published reports of the Supreme Court evince his thoroughness and talents as a lawyer. To him the State is indebted for its excellent law, known as the registration act, by which all voters are required to enter their names on the proper books of townships and wards.

Mr. Bingham was elected to the United States Senate in January, 1859, and died in October, 1861. On the assembling of the Legislature in January following, Mr. Howard was chosen to fill the vacancy. He was an active member of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary and that on Military Affairs. He gave an earnest support to all the measures for the prosecution of the war to subdue the rebellion, and was among the first to recommend the passage of the Conscription Act of 1863, being convinced that the volunteer system could not safely be relied upon as a means of recruiting and increasing the army. Every measure for supplying men and means found in him a warm supporter. He favored the principle of confiscation of the property of the rebels, and one of his most elaborate and eloquent speeches was made on that subject in April, 1862. A careful observer of the movements of parties, he early came to the conclusion that General McClellan was acting in the interest of the anti-war portion of the Democratic party, and consequently lost all confidence in his efficiency as a commander. Influenced by this feeling, he called on President Lincoln, in company with Senator Lane of Indiana, in March, 1862, and earnestly urged the dismissal of that General from the command of the Army of the Potomac. But Mr. Lincoln thought it best, as he said, "to try Mac a little longer." He added: "Mac is slow, but I still have confidence in him." And thus McClellan was retained in command.

Mr. Howard was among the first to favor an amendment of the Constitution, abolishing slavery throughout the United States, in the Judiciary Committee of the Senate, who reported the amendment as it was finally passed by both houses and ratified by the State Legislatures. He drafted the first and principal clause in the exact words in which it now appears. Some members of the Committee re-

marked despairingly: "it is undertaking too much; we cannot get it through the Legislatures, or even the houses of Congress." Mr. Howard replied with animation: "We can! Now is the time. None can be more propitious. The people are with us, and if we give them a chance they will demolish slavery at a blow. Let us try!"

In January, 1865, Mr. Howard was re-elected to the Senate for the full term commencing on the 4th of March of that year. The successes of our arms in the southwest, and the hope of converting rebels into union men there, had induced President Lincoln to send General Banks with a large force to New Orleans, and by formal instructions to invest him with authority to hold, under his own military orders, elections of members of new State conventions, to result finally in the reconstruction of the State governments. This strange plan of reconstruction required the assent of only one-tenth part of the white voters. The crudest and most unsatisfactory of all plans of reconstruction, it went into operation in Louisiana, and was in truth the suggestion of that stupendous plan of usurpation of the powers of Congress under the pretense of reconstructing the rebel States afterwards, in the summer of 1865, attempted to be carried out by Andrew Johnson, when he became President by the assassination of Mr. Lincoln. A joint resolution for the recognition of Louisiana, organized under the military orders of General Banks, came before the Senate from the Judiciary Committee, and was the subject of animated and elaborate discussion. Mr. Howard opposed it, and on the 25th of February, 1865, delivered a speech in which he fully and clearly demonstrated, that in the reconstruction of the seceded States the authority of Congress was supreme and exclusive, and that the executive as such was invested with no authority whatever. He insisted that by seceding from the Union, and in making war upon the Government, the rebel States became *enemies* in the sense of the laws of nations, and thus forfeited their rights and privileges as States; that consequently, when subdued by the arms of the Government, they were "conquered" and lay at the mercy of their conquerors, for exactly the same reason as prevails in cases of international wars; that it pertained to the law-making power of the United States, not

to the President, to deal with the subjugated communities, and that Congress in its own discretion was to judge of the time and mode of re-admitting them as States of the Union. And this is the doctrine that has practically and finally prevailed, after a most gigantic struggle between the two branches of the Government.

In the reconstruction legislation of 1867 and 1868, the principles of constitutional law, thus affirmed by Mr. Howard, were fully recognized and put into practice ; for that legislation rests exclusively upon the ground that Congress, and not the President, is vested with the power of reorganizing the rebel States.

During the session of 1865-6, he served on the joint committee on Reconstruction, one of whose duties was to inquire and report upon the condition of the rebel States. For convenience the committee divided them into several districts, and to Mr. Howard was assigned Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina. The voluminous report of this committee, containing the testimony of the numerous witnesses examined, shows the extent of their labors and the perplexing nature of the subjects committed to them. As the principal result of their labors, they submitted to Congress a proposition to amend the Constitution, now known as the Fourteenth Article : a most important amendment, which, after thorough discussion, in which Mr. Howard took a leading part, passed both houses of Congress and was submitted to the State legislatures for ratification. Had it been ratified by the State governments of the rebel States, inaugurated by the executive proclamations of Mr. Johnson, all the troubles that followed would have been avoided. But that singular man and a majority of his cabinet strenuously opposed and defeated it in those bodies. The result is known. Forced to vindicate their own authority, and to prevent anarchy in those States, Congress, in March, 1867, enacted the first of that series of statutes known as the reconstruction acts, by which they declared those States without legal governments, and subjected them to a *quasi* military rule until proper State constitutions could be formed on the principle of impartial suffrage of whites and blacks, and until Congress should formally re-admit them. In the earnest struggle to uphold this legislation, Mr. Howard was ever

at his post of duty. He drew the report of the Committee on Military Affairs, on the removal of Hon. E. M. Stanton, Secretary of War, by President Johnson, strongly condemning that act, and exposing Mr. Johnson's complicity in the "New Orleans Riots."

When the contest between the two branches of the government resulted in the impeachment of Mr. Johnson by the House of Representatives, Mr. Howard voted the accused guilty of the high crimes and misdemeanors charged in the articles of impeachment. He is a man of medium stature, compact frame, and much power of endurance. He is an eloquent speaker and a formidable antagonist in debate. He is as exemplary in his private life as honorable in his public career.



Frederick Horne

TIMOTHY O. HOWE.

IMOTHY O. HOWE is a native of Livermore, Maine, and was born on the 24th of February, 1816. Many generations since, his ancestors settled in Massachusetts. His father was a physician, living in a strictly rural district, having a wide practice among the farming community of fifty years ago.

After receiving a good common school education, Mr. Howe studied law, first with Hon. Samuel P. Benson, of Winthrop, and subsequently with Judge Robinson, of Ellsworth. In 1839 he was admitted to the bar, and immediately commenced the practice of his profession, at Readfield. In 1841 he married Miss L. A. Haynes.

In politics, he was an ardent Whig, and a devoted admirer of Henry Clay. Taking a warm interest in political questions, he was elected by the Whigs of his district as a member of the popular branch of the Maine Legislature of 1845. The Hon. William Pitt Fessenden was a member of the same body. In the Legislature he took an active part in discussions, and was recognized as a young man of unusual promise.

In the latter part of that year he removed from Maine to the Territory of Wisconsin, and opened a law office at Green Bay, which, at that time, was a small village, separated from the more thickly settled parts of the Territory by a wide belt of forest, extending for forty or fifty miles to the southward. He soon became known, however, to the people of the Territory, and upon its admission into the Union, in 1848, was nominated by the Whigs for Congress. The district being largely Democratic, he was defeated. In 1850 he was elected Judge of the Circuit Court. At that time the Circuit Judges of the State were also Judges of the Supreme Court, and Judge Howe was, during a part of his term, Chief Justice of the State. In

1854, immediately after the passage of the Nebraska bill, the Whigs, Free Soilers, and Anti-Nebraska Democrats, of Wisconsin, met in mass convention at Madison, the capital, and organized the Republican party in that State. This occurred two years before the national organization of the party. Judge Howe was then on the bench, and took no active part in politics, but published a letter expressing his hearty approbation of the movement. The following year he resigned his office as Judge and resumed the practice of the law. He bore a leading part in the State canvass of that and the following year, as a speaker, in the advocacy of Republican principles and the election of the nominees of the Republican party.

The year 1856 was signalized by one of the most remarkable judicial trials in the history of jurisprudence. At the general election in November, 1855, Hon. Wm. A. Barstow, then the Governor of Wisconsin, was the Democratic candidate for re-election. The candidate of the Republican or opposition party was Hon. Coles Bashford, recently a delegate from the Territory of Arizona in the Fortieth Congress.

The canvassers determined that Mr. Barstow had received the greatest number of votes. In pursuance of that determination a certificate of election was issued to him, signed by the Secretary of State, and authenticated by the great seal of the State, and on the opening of the next political year Mr. Barstow took the oath of office, and was re-inaugurated with imposing ceremonies and much display of military force. Mr. Bashford averred that, in fact, the greater number of legal votes were cast for him, and not for Mr. Barstow. He contended that the canvass was fraudulent and false, and he resolved to try the validity of Mr. Barstow's title by a suit at law. Accordingly he also took the oath of office. On the 15th of January the Attorney-General filed, in the Supreme Court of the State, an information in the nature of *quo warranto* against the acting Governor. That is supposed to be the only instance in the history of Government, when the people of a State have appealed to the judicial authority to dispossess an incumbent of the executive office.

Some of the best professional talent in the State was employed in the conduct of the cause, and in its progress party feeling was stirred to its lowest depths. An attempt was made to deter the prosecution by threats that the litigation would be protracted so that no judgment could be obtained during the Gubernatorial term. It was broadly hinted on the argument, and freely asserted by a portion of the press, that, if the court should give judgment for the relator, the respondent, having already the command of the militia of the State, would not submit to the judgment. For the relator appeared, besides Mr. Howe, Mr. E. G. Ryan, Mr. J. H. Knowlton, and the late Postmaster-General, Hon. A. W. Randall, while the defence was managed by Mr. J. E. Arnold, Judge Orton and the present Senator Carpenter.

It was expected that Mr. Ryan would lead the prosecution. He was a Democrat in politics, and so was politically opposed to his client; and, moreover, was a lawyer unsurpassed for ripe learning and forensic ability by any member of the profession in the United States. But an unfortunate disagreement between him and the court, in the commencement of the contest, induced his temporary withdrawal from the case, and thereupon the lead was assigned to Mr. Howe.

A sketch of the progress of the case would hardly fail to interest both the professional and the general reader; but space forbids. The prosecution, however, was completely triumphant. In spite of threatened delays, the court unanimously gave judgment for the relator, on the 24th day of March, 1856 — but little more than two months from the commencement of proceedings — and in spite of threatened resistance, the relator was, on the next day, quietly and peaceably installed in the office.

The reputation won by Judge Howe, in the management of that great State trial, gave to his name marked prominence as a candidate for the U. S. Senate in the place of Hon. Henry Dodge, whose term expired on the 4th of March, 1857.

When the Legislature assembled, his election was regarded as almost certain. But no sooner had the canvass for Senator fairly opened, than a novel question was raised in the party, for an explanation of which it is necessary to refer to events that had transpired

some years before. In 1854 a fugitive slave from Missouri was arrested at Racine, Wisconsin, taken to Milwaukee, and there thrown into jail for security, while the master was engaged in complying with the legal forms necessary to enable him to reclaim his human property. The fugitive had been treated with great barbarity at the time of his arrest, and popular feeling, inflamed by this circumstance, and by detestation of Slavery and the Fugitive Slave act, became so turbulent that it resulted in the organization of a mob which broke open the jail, released the fugitive, and sent him to Canada. Some of the prominent actors in this proceeding were arrested for violating the provisions of the Fugitive Slave law, but were released upon a writ of habeas corpus, partly upon technical grounds, and partly on the ground that the Fugitive Slave act was unconstitutional. Subsequently the case came before the Supreme Court of the State, and one of the Judges delivered a very elaborate opinion, pronouncing the Fugitive act unconstitutional, and affirming the most ultra doctrines of the State Rights school of Southern politicians, but applying them to the detriment instead of the support of slavery. The decision became at once immensely popular with a great number of radical anti-slavery men in the State, and was thought by them to be an admirable example of capturing the guns of an enemy and turning them against him. This class of Republicans regarded what they termed an anti-State Rights Republican as a little worse than an out and out pro-slavery Democrat. Accordingly, when the senatorial election approached, in the winter of 1857, the friends of other candidates raised the cry of State Rights, and averred that Judge Howe was unsound on that issue. In a caucus of the Republican members of the Legislature a resolution was adopted in substance identical with the first of the celebrated Kentucky resolutions of 1798, declaring the right of each State to be the final judge of the constitutionality of laws of the United States, and in case of infractions upon what it held to be its rights, that it should determine for itself as to the mode and measure of redress. Each of the candidates was requested to declare whether or not he approved of the doctrines of the resolution. Judge Howe alone re-

fused to endorse them. He preferred to remain a private citizen rather than secure a seat in the Senate by endorsing doctrines which he regarded as unsupported by the Constitution, and in practice fatal to the perpetuity of the Union. The result was that he was defeated, and the Hon. James R. Doolittle elected. But his defeat on such grounds attached to him, by the strongest ties of personal esteem and devotion, a large body of influential members of the party who were in harmony with him on the question of State Sovereignty. They agreed with their opponents that the Fugitive Slave law was an infamous statute, and they thought it unconstitutional; but they denied that a State court possessed the right of passing final judgment upon a law of the United States. Upon this question a dangerous division continued among the Republicans of Wisconsin, until the breaking out of the rebellion. Judge Howe was the leader of the Republicans who repudiated the State Sovereignty theory. At every Republican State Convention the question arose, and the opponents of State Sovereignty, only by dint of the most strenuous efforts, succeeded in fighting off an endorsement of the principle in the Republican platform of the State. On two occasions, once before a Republican State Convention, and again in the Assembly Chamber during the session of the Legislature, Judge Howe met in debate the ablest and most brilliant champions of the State Sovereignty theory, the Hon. Carl Schurz, then a resident of Wisconsin, and Judge A. D. Smith, the author of the opinion pronouncing the Fugitive law null and void, and achieved a signal victory over them in the argument of the question. The next senatorial election in Wisconsin occurred in the winter of 1861. In the pretended secession of the Southern States, justified upon the ground of the sovereignty of each State, the people had a practical illustration of the ultimate consequence of the doctrine. It was the vindication of Judge Howe. The quality of his Republicanism was no longer questioned, and a Republican Legislature elected him to the Senate. From that time to the present he has borne himself in all the new and perplexing crises, that have occurred in our political history in such a manner as to secure the approbation of his constituents, and the esteem and confidence of

his associates. During the war he served on the Senate Committee on Finance, and several minor committees, and in the Fortieth Congress was Chairman of the Committee on Claims, and a member of the Committee on Appropriations, and on the Public Library. He was among the earliest advocates of Emancipation, of Universal Suffrage, and of the right and expediency of establishing Territorial Governments over those districts of country in which Civil Government was overthrown by Rebellion. As a consequence he was among the foremost of those who took issue with the policy of President Johnson—and some of his ablest speeches in the Senate were delivered in the winter of 1865-1866, at the time when the division between the Radical and the Johnson Republicans began to assume the form of an open rupture.

Upon the expiration of his term, in 1867, Senator Howe was re-elected. Few representatives have ever received so signal evidence of the esteem and confidence of their constituency as was awarded him on that occasion. Every Republican member of the Legislature favored his re-election. No other candidate was spoken of. He was the unanimous choice of his party. In his senatorial career, he had displayed so much of ability, so much of consistency and steadfast adherence to principle, that the people of his State demanded his re-election with unexampled unanimity. As a consequence, no legislative caucus was held to nominate a candidate for Senator, and Mr. Howe received the unanimous vote of the Republican members when the election occurred.

In politics, as may be gathered from the above, Senator Howe is a Radical. He would abridge no man's rights on account of creed, or race, or complexion. As a speaker, he is deliberate and impressive, with a ready command of language and all the resources of extemporaneous oratory. He appears, indeed, to the best advantage in the sudden exigencies of debate, the excitement of the occasion stimulating his faculties, and rousing them to the fullest action. In private life, he is social and genial, attaching men to him by his cordiality and frankness, and winning their enduring respect by his purity of character and genuine worth.



Key Whimsy

REVERDY JOHNSON.

 ONE of the few remaining statesmen of the times who link the present with the past, is REVERDY JOHNSON, Senator from Maryland. JOHN JOHNSON, his father, was an eminent lawyer, who held the offices of Attorney General, Judge of the Court of Appeals, and Chancellor of Maryland. His mother was of French ancestry. The name of her family, REVARDI, is perpetuated, with a slight orthographic alteration in that of her distinguished son.

REVERDY JOHNSON was born in Annapolis, Maryland, May 21, 1796. He entered the Primary Department of St. John's College, in his native town, when six years old. Here he pursued his studies for ten years. At the age of sixteen he left the institution without graduating, yet having pursued a thorough course of classical and mathematical training.

On leaving college, he commenced the study of the law, under the direction of his father.

One day, as the young law-student was poring over his books, news came that the British were about to make an attack on Washington. The whole community was aroused, and a company of volunteers was hastily formed to aid in defending the Capital. Young Johnson joined them on such a sudden impulse that he did not stop to put off the slippers which he wore in the law-office; and the consequence was that, before he had marched half-way to Washington, he was completely barefoot. The company reached the neighborhood of Washington in time to participate in the battle of Bladensburg, on the 24th of August, 1814. Soon after this

engagement young Johnson was attacked with a serious illness, which put a sudden termination to his military history.

Having resumed his law studies, Reverdy Johnson was admitted to the bar in 1815, and was soon after appointed Deputy Attorney General for Prince George's and St. Mary's counties.

In 1817 he removed to Baltimore, and while engaged in an extensive practice of the law, held the office of Chief Commissioner of Insolvent Debtors.

In addition to regular professional and official duties, he was, during a number of years, partially occupied in the literary labor of reporting judicial decisions, which were published in seven volumes, under the title of "Johnson's Maryland Reports."

In 1821 he was elected to the State Senate of Maryland for a term of five years, and was re-elected for a second term, but resigned after serving two years.

During twenty years which followed, he gave his undivided attention to professional business. In legal learning and skill he reached a rank and reputation unsurpassed in the American Bar. He was employed in arguing many important cases before the Supreme Court of the United States. His services were sought in distant portions of the United States and in Europe. He made journeys to New Orleans and California, to try important cases. On one occasion he went to England, as attorney in an important case which involved a heavy claim against the Government of the United States.

In 1833 Mr. JOHNSON met with an accident, which resulted in a partial loss of his eyesight. Mr. Stanley, a member of Congress from North Carolina, having been challenged to fight a duel by Henry A. Wise, of Virginia, went to Mr. Johnson's residence, near Baltimore, for the purpose of preparing for the conflict. He requested Mr. Johnson to assist him in some preparatory practice with his pistol. Mr. Stanley succeeding

very badly in his practice, Mr. Johnson took the pistol, and fired at a small locust tree, about ten feet distant. He struck the target, but the ball rebounded and entered his left eye. A surgeon was summoned, and the bullet was extracted; but the sight of the eye was lost.

Mr. Johnson was a Whig in politics; yet, when the memorable Presidential contest of 1824 was narrowed down to a choice between Jackson and Adams, he favored the election of the former. He frankly told Mr. Clay, whose warm friend he was, that the great political error of his life was casting his influence for Adams instead of Jackson.

In 1845 Mr. Johnson was elected a United States Senator from Maryland, and, differing from a majority of his party, he favored the Mexican war. On the accession of General Taylor to the Presidency, in 1849, Mr. Johnson was appointed Attorney General of the United States, whereupon he resigned his seat in the Senate. On the death of President Taylor, he resigned his office, and resumed his private practice.

When the wicked policy of the Southern leaders had led the people to the verge of rebellion, Mr. Johnson, although in private life, did not fail to raise his voice and use his influence against the heresy of secession. In December, 1860, at the close of an argument before the Supreme Court, he pronounced one of the most eloquent eulogies on the Union, and presented one of the most thrilling delineations of the wickedness and folly involved in its overthrow, to be found in the annals of American oratory.

On the 10th of January, 1861, when Maryland was poised between loyalty and rebellion, Mr. Johnson addressed an assemblage of many thousands of the citizens of Baltimore, in an overwhelming argument against the crime of secession. He administered a withering rebuke to South Carolina, which he characterized as "that gallant State of vast pretensions, but little power." "If," said he, "the cannon maintains the

honor of our standard, and blood is shed in its defence, it will be because the United States cannot permit its surrender without indelible disgrace and foul abandonment of duty."

This speech gave Mr. Johnson rank among the foremost defenders of the Union. In 1862 the Legislature of Maryland elected him as a Union man to the United States Senate, in which he took his seat in March, 1863.

Mr. Johnson has been one of the most faithful and laborious members of the Senate. He has generally acted with the minority, and yet has frequently shown that he is not bound by party trammels. In March, 1864, he gave his vote in favor of the constitutional amendment abolishing slavery.

As a member of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction, in the Thirty-Ninth Congress, he generally opposed the views of the majority and favored the immediate re-admission of the Southern States.

He opposed what was called the "Military Reconstruction Bill" when it was under discussion in the Senate, but when it was returned with the President's objections, he spoke and voted in favor of its final passage over the veto, as the mildest terms which the South were likely to obtain. He regarded it as the means through which the South might be "rescued and restored ere long to prosperity and a healthful condition, and the free institutions of our country preserved."

Mr. JOHNSON is of medium stature, with such a build of body as indicates great physical endurance. His countenance habitually wears a sober, serious expression, seldom relaxing into a smile. He possesses agreeable manners, combined with a dignity appropriate to his venerable age and high position. As a speaker, his manner attracts and retains the attention, which his matter abundantly repays. He enters with zeal into whatever subject of discussion deserves his attention and demands his utterance.



Psychology

BY JAMES M. FERGUSON

PHILADELPHIA: L. C. LEE

WILLIAM P. KELLOGG.

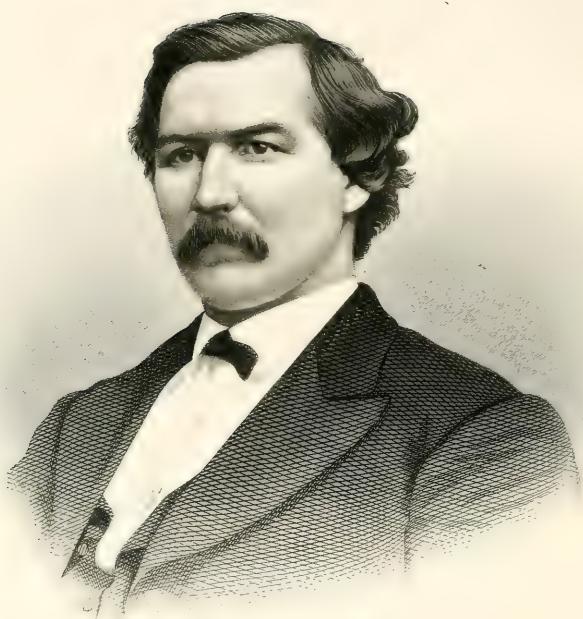


WILLIAM PITT KELLOGG was born in Vermont, December 18, 1830. He was educated at Norwich University in his native State, and in 1848 removed to Illinois. He studied law at Peoria, was admitted to the bar in 1853, and commenced practice in Fulton County. In 1856 he was a candidate for the State Legislature, but through a coalition between Democrats and "Americans" he was defeated by a small majority, though running two hundred ahead of his ticket. He was a presidential elector on the Lincoln ticket in 1860, and enjoyed the satisfaction of aiding to elevate his old friend and neighbor to the highest office in the gift of the nation. In 1861 Mr. Kellogg was appointed by Mr. Lincoln chief justice of Nebraska.

He was soon after commissioned by Governor Yates as colonel of the 7th Regiment of Illinois Cavalry, when he obtained leave of absence from the territory and entered the military service. He subsequently returned to Omaha to hold court, and then resigned his judgeship for the purpose of devoting himself wholly to military duties. He was present at the taking of New Madrid, when his regiment captured four guns from the enemy. He accompanied Gen. Pope's army up the Tennessee, in command of Gen. Granger's cavalry brigade, and took part in the capture of Corinth. In April, 1865, he was appointed collector of the port of New Orleans, his commission being signed by Mr. Lincoln on the afternoon of the evening on which he was assassinated. While collector, Mr. Kellogg appointed and commissioned as revenue inspector the first colored man appointed to such position in any Custom House in the United States. In July, 1868, he was elected United States Senator from Louisiana, and was soon after admitted to his seat for the term ending March 4, 1873. He was assigned to membership on the Committees on Commerce, Claims, and Private Land Claims.

THOMAS C. McCREERY.

HOMAS C. McCREERY is a native of Kentucky, and was born in 1817. He studied law, but instead of practising his profession, he turned his attention to the more peaceful pursuits of agriculture. He was a presidential elector in 1852, and in 1858 was a member of the Board of Visitors to the military academy at West Point. On the resignation of James Guthrie, as Senator in Congress, from Kentucky in 1868, Mr. McCreery was elected as a Democrat for the unexpired term ending in 1871, and took his seat in the Senate, February 28, 1868. He was assigned to places on the Committee on Agriculture and the Committee on Territories. His first elaborate speech in the Senate was delivered May 28, 1868, when he spoke at great length against the bill to admit Arkansas to representation in Congress. The style of the speech is illustrated in the following passage: "The safeguards which were thrown around the rights of the citizen, as well as the land-marks which were erected to protect the different departments in the exercise of their delegated powers have been obliterated and destroyed; and instead of the symmetry and simplicity of our old republican institutions the nation this day groans under the weight of a compound radical iniquity, which may be denominated a civil, circumspect, military, despotic, represented and unrepresented confederation of States, principalities and powers." He was the sole supporter of a resolution offered by his colleague, Mr. Davis, declaring that "a court of impeachment cannot be legally formed, while Senators from certain States are excluded." December 17, 1868, he proposed an amendment to the Constitution intended to protect the rights of minorities, and provide against the contingency of bringing an election for President and Vice-President to the House of Representatives. He was constantly watchful of the interests and honor of Kentucky, and faithful to the principles of the Democratic party.



McDonald

GRANGER & CO.

ALEXANDER McDONALD.

 ALEXANDER McDONALD was born in Clinton County, Pennsylvania, April 10, 1832, and was educated at the Dickinson Seminary, and the Lewisburg University. After having been employed for some time as a clerk in Williamsport, in 1852 he commenced business on his own account at Lock Haven, Pennsylvania. In 1857 he emigrated with his little family to Kansas, and settled in what has since become the city of Fort Scott. His first business experiment in the West was the erection of a saw-mill. He purchased an ox team, and hauled his own stone and timber. He acted as fireman in his own mill, thus early in his western career showing the pluck and hardihood necessary to success. Living within four miles of the Missouri line, he was in the midst of the border troubles, in which he took an active part on the side of freedom and good government. He engaged in mercantile pursuits in 1859, and when the great famine prevailed, he proved himself a liberal benefactor of the suffering people. Neither in Fort Scott nor in the country immediately around was there any public aid asked or received, since Mr. McDonald's judicious management in aiding the needy and destitute, by giving them employment at good wages, prevented destitution and saved the self-respect of all by enabling them to avoid dependence upon public charity.

The 2d Kansas Regiment was organized in May, 1861, and was sent into the field, on the day of its muster, without any provision for the clothing of the men. Mr. McDonald procured the appointment of a friend as sutler, and himself took along a large outfit of clothing, from which he furnished the entire regiment with clothing which should have been provided by the government; and he never received in return one-half the amount of his expenditure.

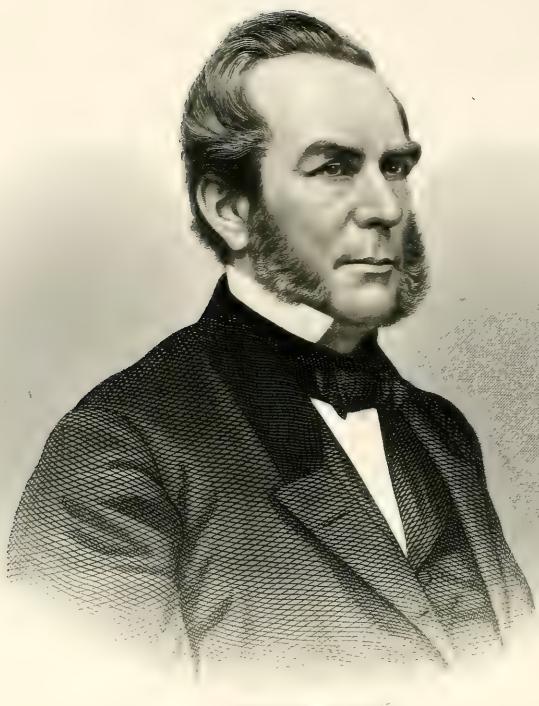
Returning to Fort Scott under the special authority of Gen. Nathaniel

iel Lyon, he raised a battalion of six companies which was subsequently enlarged to a full regiment, which, as the 8th Kansas Cavalry, obtained honorable distinction in the war. This regiment, which was not properly mustered into service until after long delay, was entirely subsisted by Mr. McDonald for nearly a year. The men could get no rations from the government; no one else would take the risk; and Mr. McDonald patriotically furnished the necessary supplies. He also furnished clothing for which payment was repudiated by one entire company. He also fed and clothed the officers of the first regiment of colored troops raised in the United States, for seven months before they were recognized by the government.

After the battle of Wilson's Creek, when Price led his forces on Fort Scott, which was defended by Gen. James H. Lane, Mr. McDonald, as commanding officer of an auxiliary force of militia, participated in all the battles in that locality, including the celebrated fight at Drywood, winning the respect of his men and the approval of his superior officers.

Accompanying the victorious troops of Major-General James G. Blunt, he became one of the first Union settlers in the State of Arkansas after the exodus of the Confederate troops. Settling first at Fort Smith, he engaged again in mercantile pursuits, and soon established the "First National Bank of Fort Smith" of which he became the president. He subsequently removed to Little Rock, where he established the Merchant's National Bank, of which he was the first president.

Upon the return of the Southern leaders at the close of the war, they attempted to resume their old control by embittering public sentiment against Northern men who had settled in the South. From a sense of duty to the country, and for self-protection, Mr. McDonald threw himself into politics with the same earnestness and devotion to the Union which distinguished his earlier career. He became the first signer in his locality of a call for a Republican convention. He took an active part in the ensuing struggle, and, upon the success which followed, he was elected as one of the United States Senators from Arkansas.



J. J. Morgan

EDWIN D. MORGAN.

 DWIN DENNISON MORGAN is the seventh of her Governors whom New York has honored with a seat in the Senate of the United States. The others were DeWitt Clinton, Van Buren, Marcy, Wright, Seward, and Fish.

Mr. Morgan is a native of the town of Washington, Massachusetts, where he was born on the eighth of February, 1811. He here enjoyed the opportunities afforded by the public schools, until the age of twelve years, when his father removed to Windsor, Connecticut, where he attended the high school, and subsequently was a student in the Bacon Academy at Colchester. In the family exodus to Windsor, this youth of a dozen years drove an ox team loaded with household effects, performing a good share of the journey, some fifty miles, on foot. At the age of seventeen he entered the wholesale grocery and commission house of an uncle, in Hartford, as clerk. Anecdotes illustrative of his mature judgment and penetration are extant, qualities which early commanded his relative's attention, and, at the end of three years, procured for him admission to a partnership. He remained here engaged in mercantile pursuits until his removal to the city of New York, whither, in 1836, he went with a view to larger business opportunities. The period for such a change was perhaps fortunately chosen, for the financial crisis of 1837, which occurred a few months after his advent there, afforded, to a practical observer like himself, valuable lessons in the ethics of trade. At all events, his commercial house, since so successful, was established about this time on a sound and permanent basis. Enterprise, resolution, and honorable dealing, marked its course, and soon acquired for

Mr. Morgan a leading place among those engaged in pursuits like his own.

While vigilant in business, he was not unmindful of the claims implied in the right of citizenship, and from 1840 to the close of the canvass that resulted in the overwhelming defeat of General Scott, he labored assiduously in the Whig ranks, though realizing that the non-election of Mr. Clay, to whom he was devoted, destroyed the prestige of his party. He acted as Vice-President of the Republican National Convention held at Pittsburg, in 1856, and was there made Chairman of the National Committee. In that capacity he opened the Convention at Philadelphia, in 1856, that nominated Fremont, that at Chicago, in 1860, which nominated Lincoln, and also that of 1864, at Baltimore, which re-nominated Mr. Lincoln. In 1866, he was made Chairman of the Union Congressional Committee?

In 1849, he was elected to the Board of Assistant Aldermen in New York, of which he was chosen President. A few weeks after taking his seat in the latter body, the Asiatic Cholera broke out, and owing to the unfavorable sanitary condition of the city, it spread so rapidly as to create great alarm. Mr. Morgan was placed upon the Sanitary Committee, and so imminent appeared the danger from this pestilence that his whole time was devoted to the details of the position. Hospitals were to be improvised, the sale of food to be regulated, streets, yards, and places to be cleansed—indeed, many and pressing were the thankless duties incident to a critical moment like this, in a great city whose population is drawn from all quarters of the world. The efforts of the Board were attended with signal success, and in the fall of that year the Whig electors of the Sixth Senatorial District indicated their sense of his services by giving him a seat in the State Senate, and re-electing him two years afterward. In the Senate he was placed at the head of the Standing Committee on Finance, where he remained through his term. At the Session of 1851 he was made President *pro tempore* of that body, serving also in the same capacity at the extra meeting of that summer; and although the Democratic party had gained control of the Senate in 1852, he

was unanimously chosen again as its temporary President, and also for the fourth time in 1853.

In 1855, he was appointed a Commissioner of Emigration, which place was held until 1858, when he was elected Governor. To the latter office, before the end of his term, two years afterward, he was re-elected by the largest majority ever given to a governor in the State of New York. Important duties lay in the four years he was destined to fill the gubernatorial chair; and as events proved, he possessed rare qualifications for their performance. A knowledge of men, a high standing in the commercial community, a thorough business training, and practical knowledge of the complex finances of the State, coupled with clear and enlightened views on questions falling within the scope of his functions, and freedom from petty prejudices, blended happily in the new Governor. He had need of all these advantages, as also of his tireless industry, equable temper, and robust physique. His first term, though marked with vigor and the initiation of important reforms, was preparatory to the second, whose duties in extent and importance no other Governor of the State has been called upon to perform.

On entering office, he found the State's high credit threatened, the public works still unfinished, though millions had been expended for their completion.

Popular expectation, disappointed often, and wearied at length by the languid progress of the enlargement, was giving way to a disposition, adroitly fostered, to sell the canals, thereby to create a great and controlling monopoly, most baneful in its character. The militia, as an organization, had by degrees, through years of peace, quite lost its efficiency, and the condition of the military property and arsenal supplies was sorry enough. His first message to the Legislature, like all his others, shows a clear and searching insight into the condition of the State in its varied interests. These papers are eminently clear and frank, and are wanting neither in force of diction nor soundness of doctrine. In his first communication to the Legislature occurs this sentence: "Upright intentions, a heart

devoted to the interests of the commonwealth, and unceasing application, are all the pledges I can give for the faithful execution of the trusts delegated to me by the people of New York."

Pledge was never better kept, and he proceeded at once to make it good. The Canal finances received the first attention. The Canal revenues had fallen largely below the constitutional claims upon them, owing, in part, to an immense reduction in tolls, but most of all to a lax system of expenditure by the use of drafts upon the treasury, anticipatory of appropriations, to the extent of millions of dollars, in express defiance of the laws and the Constitution. This illegitimate paper was hawked in the markets, where it was known as "floating debt," a new form of obligation to New York's ledger of State indebtedness. It was daily growing in volume, and was prejudicing other forms of the State's credit. The proceeds were being used, it is true, though not with economy, in completing the Canals. He did not hesitate to present the whole subject to the Legislature, and to recommend early provision for its liquidation. "The people, thereby," said he, "are placed in the dilemma of paying an unauthorized debt, or seemingly incurring the stain of repudiation;" and while protesting against the whole system, adds, "but under no circumstances will the State of New York ever refuse to acknowledge and pay every and all just claims existing against her, or that have been contracted by any of her recognized agents." The question was submitted to a vote of the people, who legalized the debt, though by a majority so limited as to afford wholesome warning to any who might hereafter be tempted to repeat so evil a practice. As respected the current management of the Canals, he urged that the tolls be largely increased, and the cost of maintenance be essentially lessened. Both recommendations were adopted with most satisfactory results. He took decided ground against the sale of the Canals, and, with characteristic energy, urged their completion. Before retiring from the Executive office he had the satisfaction of announcing the Canal enlargement as fully effected.

The inadequate defenses of the harbor of New York were early

adverted to by him with earnestness, and the series of labors performed by him in this connection, and also in conjunction with others, afford honorable example of public economy and practical wisdom. In response to an inquiry from the Inspector-General of the Army, he says, in December, 1867:

“ You ask what steps were taken by me, as Governor of New York, in response to Mr. Seward’s circular letter of October, 1861, upon the subject of perfecting harbor and coast defenses, and the amount of expense incurred by the State for that purpose. Immediately on the reception of Mr. Seward’s letter, I proceeded to ascertain what mode of defense would be the most judicious to adopt, with a view to making temporary provision therefor. I had called the attention of the Legislature to the inadequate defenses of the harbor of New York in January, 1860, and, in view of dangers not necessary here to detail, the subject had not been lost sight of. Hence, I was the more ready to co-operate with the General Government in providing for the safety of the lake and sea-ports of the State, when the letter reached me to which you have called my attention.

“ To the Legislature, on its assembling, I referred the whole subject, with the recommendation that, in default of prompt action on the part of the national authorities, it was the duty of the State to proceed without delay with such portions of the defense as prudence should dictate.

“ Under apprehensions of hostilities growing out of the *Trent* affair, I had, in December, 1861, purchased a large quantity of timber for floating obstructions, at an aggregate cost of about \$80,000, for use, if need be, in the form of cribs or rafts, connected by chain cables, to be anchored at the Narrows. The plan for its use, an eminently feasible one, had been carefully matured. When no longer necessary, the timber was sold, without loss to the State treasury.

“ No expense was therefore incurred, either in 1861 or 1862, for the specific object of your inquiry. But early in 1863, the defenseless condition of the harbor of New York was again the occasion of

disquietude, because of the unfavorable aspect of this country's relations with the two principal naval forces of Europe, and the liability to ravages of privateers. Accordingly, the Legislature appropriated \$1,000,000 for the purchase of cannon, sub-marine batteries, and iron-clad steamers, and for providing such other means to protect the harbors and frontiers of the State as were deemed necessary by the commissioners named in the act, Governor Seymour, Lucius Robinson, comptroller, and myself.

"Popular apprehensions had, doubtless, magnified dangers sufficiently grave, and the commissioners lost no time in personally examining in detail all the fortifications in the harbor, and conferring with engineers thoroughly conversant with the subject. As Government was then rapidly placing the largest and most improved guns in the forts and progressing with the fortifications, there remained little to be done in that direction by the State authorities, whose duties could therefore be best performed by supplementing the labors of the Federal agents. And after due consultation with the Federal officers and other practical engineers, whose services, with the exception of the engineer in charge, it is but just to say, were gratuitously rendered, it was concluded to again resort to floating obstructions. Plans were at once advertised for, and, in due time, proposals for materials invited. As a precaution, my associates formally authorized me, in case of an unexpected attack upon the city of New York, to take such instant measures for defense as I might deem necessary, with liberty to use the whole appropriation, if required, for that purpose.

"When the bids were opened it was found that the enhanced price of timber and iron would so increase the cost of the proposed work as to render a further appropriation necessary, and, as meantime the relations of our country with certain foreign governments had become more pacific, it was decided to defer action until the regular meeting of the Legislature. Practically, however, the means for providing a defense were at all times within reach. Timber in sufficient quantities and suitable iron cables were at command in case of emergency, and as the plans for the use of these were well under-

stood by a competent board of engineer officers who could be speedily convened, it was deemed unnecessary to urge further action. It only remains to be stated that of the appropriation but \$5,000 were used; the balance of the million remains untouched in the State treasury."

The subject of executive pardons received more than ordinary consideration from him, and considered in proportion to the applications presented, he granted fewer pardons than any of his predecessors. The matter of special legislation and the want of specific accountability for appropriations to charitable objects engaged particular attention.

In common with close observers, he from the first held as serious the threats of secession that followed the election of Mr. Lincoln, but lent his influence to calm the popular mind, and to remove, so far as was consistent with principle, any pretext for the course finally pursued by the South. But the attack on Sumter ended all disposition on his part to placate that section. "This gratuitous violence, and this deliberate insult to the flag, conclusively proves to all," said he, "that it is the design of the leaders to break up the Government." Thenceforward, day by day, he bent every energy to the work of putting down the rebellion. No other State was looked to for so many men and so much money as New York. Her quota was about one-fifth part of all the troops called for. The Legislature was about to adjourn when the news from Charleston harbor reached Albany. A few earnest words served to present his views to the two Houses. In forty-eight hours they had appropriated three millions and a half in money for war purposes, and authorized the raising of 30,000 volunteers. With the aid of the State Military Board this number was soon enrolled and fully organized, and, by the third week in May, was hurried into the field, whither nine regiments of State militia, serving as minute men, had preceded them. So extensive had been the preparations of the rebels, as to leave it obvious that a single campaign would not end the struggle of the insurgents. Hence, Governor Morgan was averse to refusing volunteers after the State's quota was filled; and when the battle of Bull Run oc-

curred, he was in Washington seeking authority to establish camps of instruction at two or three points in the State, with a view to greater efficiency of recruits, and to keep aglow the spirit of enlistment. Following the first great rebuff to Union arms, came the President's call upon New York for 25,000 men, and this demand was so far increased that on the first of January the State had raised 120,600 troops. On that day he was able to assert that "no requisition had been made by the Government that remained unhonored."

The city of New York was a common rendezvous for the several States; and many independent regiments were there forming, thereby impeding the State authorities. In view of these facts, and to secure other practical advantages, at the same time to express his sense of the important services rendered by Governor Morgan, the President, in September, 1861, appointed him a Major-General of Volunteers, and created the State into a military department under his command. It is proper to add that he declined any emolument for this duty of sixteen months.

Succeeding the ardent spirit of volunteering of the earlier months of the war, came a period when the disposition wholly ceased. The tardy movements of the eastern army and the unsuccessful series of battles of midsummer of that year had done the work. But the disaster that culminated at Malvern Hill, rendered a call indispensable, to be quickly followed by a second requisition of equal extent.

The quota of New York under the two was 120,000 men. Prompt action was vital, and a special incentive to secure the new levies became necessary. The public clamored for an extra session of the Legislature to authorize a bounty. But this involved the delay of days, possibly of weeks, when time was so precious. It was clear that the people of the commonwealth favored a bounty, and Governor Morgan did not hesitate to assume the responsibility of offering one. Accordingly he announced that the State would give \$50 to each man enlisting for three years. The stimulus proved sufficient, and volunteering at once began again in earnest. A class of volunteers inferior to none who had ever taken up arms, were brought into

the service. The aggregate sum expended for this object was about \$3,500,000, which the Legislature at its next session, acting on the recommendation of Governor Seymour, lost no time in legalizing. The mode employed in this emergency, that of raising local regiments by committees of leading citizens for their respective Senate districts, proved to be wisely chosen. In a few days a regiment was ready for the field, and they followed each other with steady pace, at the rate of one a day until the great quotas were filled. Several of these regiments were equipped with arms purchased by the Governor, and most of them were uniformed and otherwise supplied from his purchases. They reached the field in time to take part in the battle of Antietam, inspiriting by their presence the hearts of the veterans whose rapid marches northward had prevented communication with friends, and who were needing such a stimulus. By the end of his term he had sent no less than 320,000 men into the field, being more than a fifth part of all that had yet entered the service. In addition to these, the State militia regiments were on three several occasions dispatched to Washington, to answer emergencies. The thanks of the President and the Secretary of War were frequently tendered Governor Morgan, for his promptness and efficiency in responding to their demands, and the extent of the aid that as executive of New York he was enabled to render. When he left the office, New York stood credited with an excess over all quotas.

Contracts for rations, clothing, arms and ordnance, to the extent of many million dollars, had been made by him in behalf of the General Government, in addition to what had been purchased for the State. All these business transactions have received the approval of the Federal authorities.

There were, during his latter term, causes of grave uneasiness to which the public gave no particular heed, but which occasioned him no little anxiety. The disorderly element in the city of New York, stimulated by persons not unfriendly to the South, and which a few months after his retirement originated the riot there, was watched by him with unceasing care. The rebel element in Canada, too, and

the threatening aspect of the relations of this country with Great Britain in the earlier part of the war, made necessary, considering the proximity of the State to Canada and its extended and exposed frontier, a provision for prompt defense or retaliation; and in the winter of 1862, a plan was matured, the execution of which he would have intrusted to General Wadsworth, with the latter's approval, to secure the State from hostile dangers in that quarter. The subsequent raid at St. Albans and elsewhere along the northern borders, was but a feeble indication of what might have been in the earlier stages of the rebellion.

In February, 1862, he was elected to the Senate of the United States for the term of six years, to succeed Preston King. He took his seat at the called session of March of that year, and has served on the Committees on Commerce, Finance, the Pacific Railroad, as Chairman of the Joint Committee on the Library, on Manufactures, Military Affairs, Mines and Mining, and on Printing.

In February, 1865, on the retirement of Mr. Fessenden, he was asked by Mr. Lincoln to accept the position of Secretary of the Treasury. This he declined; but not disposed to forego the advantages which he believed Mr. Morgan's presence in the Cabinet at the head of the Finances would bring, the President, disregarding his expressed wishes, nominated him without his knowledge, and it was only after earnest objections on his part that Mr. Lincoln consented to withdraw his name and leave him in the Senate.

At its commencement, in July, 1867, Williams College, which is located in his native county of Berkshire, Massachusetts, conferred upon him the Degree of Doctor of Laws.



Engraved by J. C. Green

I. J. Monell

MONELL'S CHOCOLATE & CO.

100 BROAD ST. NEW YORK.

JUSTIN S. MORRILL.



JUSTIN S. MORRILL was born in Strafford, Vermont, April 14, 1810. At fifteen years of age he was taken from an academy, where he was making rapid proficiency in study, and was placed in a country store. From that time he did not enjoy another day's schooling, though he has been a hard student all his life. After a year's experience as a merchant's clerk in his native village, having received for his services only \$25, he went to Portland and was employed in an extensive dry goods establishment. All the money that could be saved from his meagre salary was spent for books, which were studied with great avidity at such hours as were not occupied in his regular labors. By thus improving his time he pursued a considerable course of classical studies, and read "Blackstone's Commentaries," but with no intention of becoming a lawyer. After three years spent in Portland, he returned to his native town, and formed a partnership in mercantile business with Judge Harris. Mr. Morrill continued in this business until 1848, when he turned his attention to agricultural pursuits.

In 1854, he was elected a Representative from Vermont in the Thirty-fourth Congress, and remained a member of the House by re-elections for twelve continuous years. He was a member of the Committees on Agriculture, and Ways and Means. Of the latter committee, during the Thirty-ninth Congress, he held the important position of chairman, thus becoming what is technically styled "Leader of the House."

He introduced a bill granting lands to agricultural colleges, which was passed by Congress, but was vetoed by President Buchanan. A similar bill, which finally became a law, was ably advocated by Mr. Morrill in a speech delivered June 6, 1862. In 1856, he opposed

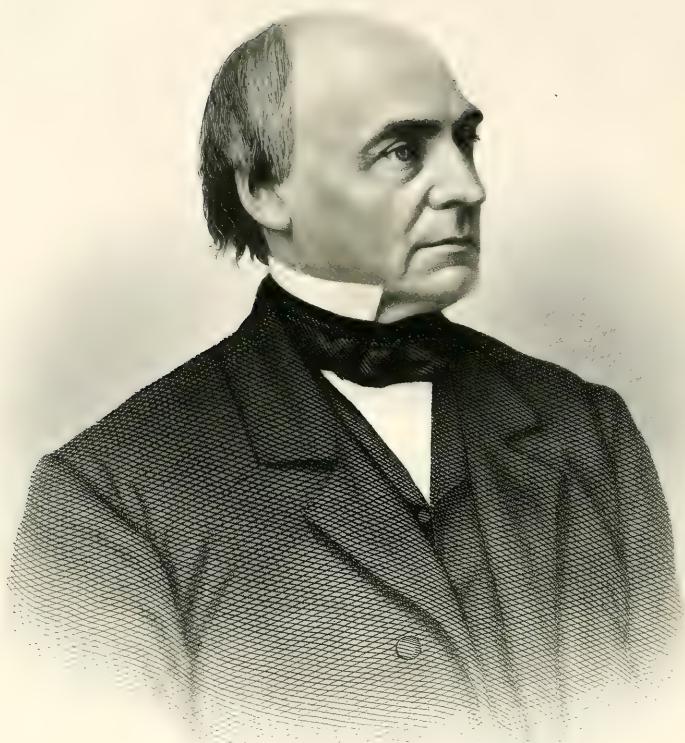
the admission of Kansas on the terms then proposed. Subsequently, as a member of a select committee of fifteen appointed to investigate matters in relation to Kansas, he prepared and presented a minority report against the Lecompton constitution.

His first speech on the tariff question was delivered in the House, Feb. 6, 1857, against a bill reported by Mr. Campbell of Ohio, the main grounds of Mr. Morrill's opposition being that it was too much in the interest of manufactures, and adverse to agriculture. The "Morrill Tariff" was introduced and explained by him in an elaborate speech, April 23, 1860. This tariff, which became a law in 1861, effected a change from *ad valorem* to specific duties on a large number of articles. Increasing the duties on wool and some other agricultural products, it added many articles to the free list.

February 4, 1862, Mr. Morrill made a speech maintaining the im-policy of making paper a legal tender, since this would lead to inflation, and make great difficulty in the return to specie payments. He proposed a system of issuing exchequer bills, which, if adopted, would have tended to prevent the great depreciation of the currency which ultimately occurred.

March 12, 1862, he made a speech explanatory of the Internal Tax Bill, which, as chairman of the sub-committee to whom the subject was referred, he had performed the principal labor in preparing. By this bill was originated the vast internal revenue system which has served so excellent a purpose for the country. A system of such varied application, and yet so simple and efficient for subserving the necessities of a great nation, was never before devised. The present head of the treasury, Mr. Boutwell, after having had the experience of executing the law, as Commissioner of Internal Revenue, said that it was "the most perfect system ever devised by any nation."

In October, 1866, he was elected a Senator in Congress from Vermont, for the term ending in 1873. In the Senate he has made numerous and able speeches on the various subjects relating to the national finances and the public debt.



L. R. Monell

PHOTOGRAPH BY J. D. COOPER

LOT M. MORRILL.



LOT M. MORRILL was born in Belgrade, Maine, May 3, 1813.

In 1834, at the age of twenty-one, he entered Waterville College, but soon after left the institution to commence the study of law. Five years later he was admitted to the bar, and entered upon a lucrative practice. Taking an active part in politics, he soon rose to prominence as a leader in the Democratic party. In 1854 he was elected a Representative in the State Legislature, and in 1856 he was elected to the State Senate, of which he was chosen President.

He had never been an apologist for slavery, though acting with the Democrats, and when they attempted to force slavery by fraud and violence upon the people of Kansas, he denounced the scheme and severed his connection with the party. In 1857 he was nominated by the Republican party for Governor of the State, and was elected by a majority of fifteen thousand votes. He administered the State Government to the satisfaction of the people, and was by them twice re-elected. In 1861 he was elected to the United States Senate to fill the vacancy created by the resignation of Hannibal Hamlin. He took his seat on the 17th of January of that year, and in 1863 he was re-elected for the term ending March 4, 1869. In the senatorial election, for the ensuing term, the contest was very warm between the friends of Mr. Morrill and Mr. Hamlin. In the Republican caucus the latter was nominated by a majority of one vote, and was accordingly elected by the Legislature.

In the Senate his record is that of a consistent Republican. A promoter of the Congressional plan of reconstruction, he opposed the "policy" of President Johnson, and voted for his conviction.

OLIVER P. MORTON.



LIVER P. MORTON was born in Wayne County, Indiana, August 4, 1823. His parents dying when he was quite young, he was placed under the care of a grandmother and two aunts, in the State of Ohio. He served for a while with his brother at the hatter's trade; but this not being a congenial employment, at the age of fourteen he entered the Wayne County Seminary. He is described by his preceptor as "a timid and rather verdant-looking youth, too shy to bear, with head erect, a master's look." After completing his preparatory studies, he entered Miami University, at Oxford, Ohio. He displayed much talent as a student, and made great proficiency in his studies, and especially in forensic exercises. Leaving college without graduating, he returned to Indiana, and entered upon the study of law with Hon. John S. Newman. He was admitted to the bar in 1846, and, as a jurist and an advocate, soon took rank among the first lawyers of the State.

In 1852, he was elected Judge of the Circuit Court. Two years later, the Democratic party, of which he was a member, repealed the Missouri Compromise, and passed the Kansas-Nebraska bill. Mr. Morton, with many others who had been known as free-soil Democrats, abandoned his old party relations, and aided in forming the Republican party.

In 1856, he was nominated by the Republicans as their candidate for Governor of Indiana. He made a thorough and vigorous canvass of the State, in company with his Democratic competitor, Ashbel P. Willard. A party so powerful, championed by a leader so eloquent and popular, could not be overcome in a single campaign. Mr. Morton lost the election by about five thousand votes; but his speeches, delivered throughout the State, did much to build up and consolidate the Republican party in Indiana.



Engraving by G. E. Perine

O. P. Morton

HON. OLIVER P. MORTON

SENATOR FROM INDIANA

Anticipating the importance of the great political struggle of 1860, the Republicans of Indiana made an exceedingly strong ticket, with Henry S. Lane for Governor, and Oliver P. Morton for Lieutenant Governor—both unsurpassed for eloquence and effectiveness in political debate. The Republican State ticket was triumphantly elected in October, and, in November, Indiana stood in the unbroken column of Northern States that elected Abraham Lincoln to the Presidency.

On the 14th of January, 1861, Mr. Morton, entering upon the office of Lieutenant-Governor, took his seat as President of the State Senate. He occupied this position but two days, when, in consequence of the election of Henry S. Lane to the Senate of the United States, he became Governor of Indiana.

Never before had a Governor of the State been inaugurated amid circumstances so difficult and trying. The election of Mr. Lincoln to the presidency was used as a pretext for rebellion, which was already showing its formidable front in various portions of the South. The State of Indiana was divided on the question of the right of secession. Men were heard to say in the State Legislature, that they would rather take their muskets and assist the Southern people to obtain their independence, than to support the Government. The Southern traitors believed that should the Administration pursue a coercive policy, Indiana would secede and join the Southern Confederacy. To repress treason, to foster loyalty, and hold the entire State true to the Union, and to hurl its concentrated moral and physical force against the rising rebellion, constituted the extraordinary work before the newly-inaugurated Governor.

Convinced of the importance of prompt action in defence of the Government, he visited the President in person, and assured him that if he would adopt a vigorous policy, Indiana would support him. Soon after his visit to Washington, the bombardment of Fort Sumter inaugurated actual hostilities and produced the great uprising of the North.

Upon receiving the President's proclamation, Governor Morton issued calls to every part of the State for men. Forty thousand

men, more than six times the number required, volunteered for the defence of the Union. In three days, six regiments, the quota of the State, were in readiness for service, fully armed and equipped. Twenty regiments were tendered in addition, and when they were not accepted by the Government, most of them were mustered into the State service, put in camp and drilled until the time came when the Government was glad to take them.

No sooner were their first troops in the field than the Governor sent agents to look after their interests, to see that their necessities were supplied while in health, and that they were properly cared for when sick.

To meet the extraordinary emergencies of the occasion, Governor Morton called an extra session of the Legislature. His message to this body, delivered April 25th, 1861, was a patriotic and eloquent presentation of the true relations of the States to the Federal Government, and the duty of Indiana to aid in crushing the rebellion.

During the extra session of the General Assembly the labors of the Executive Department were augmented to an extent never before equalled in the history of the State. Great discernment and discretion were exercised by the Governor in the selection of men to aid in recruiting, organizing and equipping the regiments. He laid aside party prejudices, and, in dispensing favors, rather showed partiality to his former political foes than to his friends. Loyalty and capacity were the only qualifications for position which he demanded, and during the early stages of the war he appeared to look for these in the Democratic party.

The doubtful attitude of the State of Kentucky gave additional anxiety and labor to the Governor of Indiana. Governor Magoffin, at heart a secessionist, had refused most positively to respond to the President's call for volunteers. While making professions of a desire to hold Kentucky in a neutral position, he was really rendering the rebels all the aid in his power. He artfully laid his plans to induce Indiana, Ohio, and other Northern border States, to assume the character of sovereign mediators between the Government and the seceded States. To his overtures Governor Morton promptly re-

sponded, "There is no ground in the Constitution, midway between the Government and a rebellious State, upon which another State can stand, holding both in check. A State must take her stand upon one side or the other; and I invoke the State of Kentucky, by all the sacred ties that bind us together, to take her stand with Indiana, promptly and efficiently, on the side of the Union."

From this time until the close of Magoffin's administration, Governor Morton was practically the governor of Kentucky. He dispatched numerous secret agents to watch the movements of Kentucky secessionists. Thus he was constantly advised in reference to the traitorous designs of Kentucky rebels and their Confederate allies. In view of the defenceless condition of the Indiana and Ohio border, he urged upon the President and the War Department the importance of gunboats and fortifications along the Ohio river.

From the beginning of the difficulties in Kentucky he unremittingly pressed upon the attention of the Government the necessity of taking decided steps toward the occupation of the State by the United States forces.

On the 16th of September, 1861, Governor Morton learned, through one of his secret agents, that the rebel General Zollicoffer had marched his brigade through Cumberland Gap, into Kentucky. On the same day General Buckner, who had for some time been stationed at Bowling Green in command of a body of "neutral State Guards," set out with his men for Louisville. General Rousseau had organized a brigade at Jeffersonville, Indiana, but out of respect for Kentucky's neutrality was ordered to St. Louis. Governor Morton, having been apprised of the movements of Zollicoffer and Buckner, had General Rousseau's marching orders countermanded. He was ordered to cross the Ohio into Kentucky; thus Louisville was saved from falling into the hands of the rebels, and the fatal charm of neutrality was broken.

Governor Morton withdrew his secret agents and appealed to the people of Indiana to render all possible aid in rescuing Kentucky from the hands of the secessionists. Many regiments responded to the call, and ere the lapse of many months Bowling

Green, a strongly fortified position, was occupied by a Federal force Zollicoffer was defeated and slain at Mill-spring, and the soil of Kentucky cleared of rebel troops.

The important agency of Governor Morton in bringing about these results was universally acknowledged. The "Louisville Journal" said of him, "He has been, emphatically, Kentucky's guardian spirit from the very commencement of the dangers that now darkly threaten her very existence. Kentucky and the whole country owe him a large debt of gratitude. Oh, that all the public functionaries of the country were as vigilant, as clear-sighted, as energetic, as fearless, as chivalric, as he."

The wants of Indiana troops in Missouri, West Virginia, and the Department of the Potomac, received his constant attention, and his numerous efficient agents were actively employed in every camp where Indiana regiments were stationed.

The reverses of the national arms had such a discouraging effect upon the country, that in most of the States the work of recruiting progressed slowly. Not so in Indiana. The faithfulness of Governor Morton in looking after his soldiers, and providing for their families at home, inspired the people of Indiana with such a degree of confidence that the volunteering spirit among them did not abate because of national disasters, and by the 11th of December, 1861, an aggregate of forty-four volunteer regiments from Indiana were in the service of the United States.

The approach of the first winter of the war seemed likely to find large numbers of our troops almost destitute of comfortable clothing, owing to the misappropriation of supplies, by incompetent and unprincipled quartermasters. Governor Morton sought to remedy this deficiency, so far as the Indiana troops were concerned, by taking the matter of supplying them with clothing into his own hands. Notwithstanding the obstructions thrown in his way, and the insults offered him by thieving officials, by indefatigable energy, he carried his points, and had the satisfaction of being assured by his messengers that his soldiers would not suffer from lack of clothing amid the rigors of winter in the mountains of Western Virginia.

Governor Morton's popularity among the soldiers, and his reputation in other States, having excited the jealousy of certain ambitious politicians, they gave currency to vague charges of mismanagement in State military matters, of corruption in the appointment of officers, and the awarding of contracts. In compliance with Governor Morton's urgent request, a Congressional Investigating Committee visited Indianapolis, and made rigid inquiry into the management of military matters in Indiana. The published report of the proceedings of this committee not only exonerates him from all blame, but shows the greatest care on his part to prevent fraud and peculation. It was stated by this committee that, notwithstanding the Indiana troops had been better armed and equipped than those of any other western State, the expense attending their outfit was less, in proportion to the number of men furnished, than that of any other State in the Union.

Governor Morton steadily rose in the estimation of the President and the Cabinet, until his influence became greater in Washington than that of any other man in the country outside the Executive Departments. Many times was his presence requested in Washington, and his counsel solicited in matters of the greatest moment to the Government.

Before the close of the year 1862, more than one hundred thousand men had enlisted from Indiana in the service of the United States. Most of these being Republicans, their absence greatly depleted the strength of the party at home. Mismanagement of officers and reverses in the field had cooled the ardor of many who had been supporters of the war. These causes operated to produce a defeat of the Republican party in Indiana in the autumn of 1862, and the election of Democratic State officers, and a majority of the Legislature. Fortunately for the State, Governor Morton held over, having been elected for a term of four years. He stood as the sole obstacle in the path of reckless men who desired to drag the State into alliance with the rebels.

The Governor transmitted to the Legislature a message in which he accurately set forth the condition of the State, and with calmness

and dignity made such suggestions as were appropriate to the emergencies of the State and Nation. The Legislature insultingly refused to accept this message, and by a joint resolution complimented, and virtually adopted, the message of Governor Seymour of New York.

The Democratic majority in caucus drew up a bill designed to take all the military power of the State away from the Governor, and place it in the hands of four Democratic State officers. This bill was engrossed and only prevented from becoming a law by the withdrawal of the Republican members, leaving the Legislature without a quorum. When the Legislature was thus broken up, no appropriations had been made to defray the expenses of the State government for the next two years, and Governor Morton must either call the Legislature back at the risk of having the State involved in civil war, or borrow the money to carry on the State government. He determined to take the latter course, and succeeded in raising nearly two million dollars, with which he paid the expenses of the State government and the interest on the State debt. The money was borrowed from loyal counties in the State, from railroad companies, banks, private persons, and from the house of Winslow, Lanier & Co., in New York. During these two years he acted as Auditor and Treasurer of State, kept the accounts in his own office, and disbursed the money upon his own checks. The next Legislature examined his accounts, and adopted them without the slightest exception, paid up all his borrowed money, and thus relieved him of the great responsibilities he had incurred.

The most persistent and dangerous opposition to Governor Morton's administration was a secret association, popularly known as "Knights of the Golden Circle." It had a lodgement in every section of the State, but became most numerous in those places where the people, not having frequent access to the mediums of public intelligence, became readily the dupes of designing men. The ultimate exposure of this organization showed that it numbered over 80,000 men, bound together by the most solemn oaths, thoroughly drilled and ready to obey the call of their masters at any time.

It was the plan and purpose of the conspirators to rise and seize

the government arsenals, release rebel prisoners at various points in the North, furnish them with arms, and after assassinating State and United States officers, to take forcible possession of the government.

To ferret out and defeat the schemes of these conspirators was a work of no ordinary magnitude, but it was fully accomplished. The Governor employed secret detectives, through whose activity and tact he obtained an inside view of almost every lodge within the State. He was fully informed of all their plans, their financial resources, and their strength. Large quantities of arms, consigned to the conspirators, were seized and confiscated. Several of the chiefs of the conspiracy were arraigned, tried, convicted of treason and punished. The opportune discovery and exposure of this plot prevented a terrible outbreak and massacre on the soil of Indiana, and rescued the State from infamy and ruin.

In the fall of 1864, Governor Morton was re-elected by a majority of 22,000 votes. He continued with energy and ardor to prosecute the work which for four years had occupied his time and attention. He continued to raise soldiers, by volunteering and by draft, until the last call was more than met.

He passed the last year of the war in unceasing activity. At Washington, in council with the President; at the front, beholding the brave achievements of his soldiers, moving in person through the hospitals to ascertain the wants of the sick and wounded, and directing the operations of his numerous agents; at home, superintending sanitary movements, appointing extra surgeons and sending them to the field, projecting additional measures for the relief of dependent women and children, and attending personally to all the details of the business of his office—his labors were unsurpassed by those of any man in the civil or military service of the country.

The sudden collapse of the rebellion, and the return of the surviving heroes of the war, varied, but did not diminish, the labors of the Governor of Indiana. He made the amplest arrangements for the reception and entertainment of the Indiana volunteers at the State capital. Every regiment was received and welcomed by him in person. He gave special attention to the pay department, and saw

that no unnecessary delay detained the veterans from their homes and families.

Finally, the war being ended, and the soldiers dismissed to their homes, the long excitement ended, and the day of relaxation came. For five years his powers of mind and body were taxed to the utmost. The immense weight of his official responsibilities, the embarrassments which beset him, the gigantic difficulties he had overcome, had, apparently, made no inroads upon his frame. The cessation of labor and excitement developed the evil results of over-work. In the summer of 1865 he was attacked with partial paralysis. The efforts of physicians to afford relief were fruitless, and a change of scene and climate was advised as the only means of obtaining relief. Accordingly, he devolved his official duties upon the Lieutenant Governor, and sailed for Europe. After an absence of several months he returned, partially relieved, and resumed his official duties.

In January, 1867, he was elected to the United States Senate, and resigning the Governorship, he took his seat on the 4th of March, for the term ending in 1873.

In the Senate he has not failed fully to meet the high expectations of the country. Though somewhat disabled by disease, he has performed all the work of a Statesman and a Senator. His speeches, heard by crowded galleries and an attentive Senate, have fallen with marked effect upon the country. Though often necessitated to speak in a sitting posture, he retains the commanding presence and the impressive delivery essential to the highest success in oratory. Unsurpassed in executive ability, as proved by a splendid career in another field, he has shown himself the peer of the greatest statesmen in legislative talent.

DANIEL S. NORTON.

DANIEL S. NORTON is a native of Ohio, having been born at Mount Vernon, of that State, April 12, 1829. He was educated at Kenyon College, and afterwards served with the Ohio volunteers in the Mexican war. He subsequently visited California and Nicaragua, and having thus spent a year in travel, he returned to Ohio and studied and practiced law, having been admitted to the bar in 1852.

In 1855 Mr. Norton emigrated to Minnesota, then beginning to attract the attention of eastern people contemplating emigration Westward. Two years afterwards he was elected to the State Senate, of which he was a member during six years ending 1864. In 1865 he was elected to the United States Senate as a Conservative, to succeed M. S. Wilkinson, Republican.

On coming into the Senate, Mr. Norton was placed on the Committee on Patents, and the Committee on Territories. He addressed the Senate several times in opposition to the Suffrage Amendment, asserting that it was "urged singly, solely, and simply by party for party purposes." In a speech against the bill to strengthen the public credit he said, "If there was any interest in this country that was especially interested in the successful prosecution of the war and the suppression of the rebellion it was the capital of the country. If there was any class of men who ought to feel more interest in the stake than another it was the capitalists of the country. If it had been possible the Government should have compelled the money of the country to contribute its share and its proportion of the burdens of the war, just as it compelled the laboring classes to contribute their services and their lives in its defense." In a speech on the civil Appropriation bill he presented an earnest plea for suitable compensation to certain Sisters of Mercy who had labored in the South for the comfort of sick, wounded, and disabled soldiers.

JAMES W. NYE.

HE son of one of the substantial farmers who have given to the Empire State its rapid development and great prosperity, James W. Nye was born in De Ruyter, Madison County, New York, June 10, 1815. The labors of the farm, to which he was inured in boyhood, developed great physical strength and power of endurance. As a youth he enjoyed the advantages of superior schools, in which he laid the foundation of a good education and manifested remarkable ability as a speaker. He studied law and practiced in his native county, and afterward in New York City. He entered actively into political life, and soon became conspicuous for his eloquence, fearlessness, and thorough mastery of all political subjects. He was identified with the Free-Soil movement from the beginning, and on the organization of the Republican party he became one of its members, and eloquently advocated the election of Fremont in 1856. In 1860 he was a Police Commissioner for the city of New York, under the Metropolitan Police Act. In the campaign which ended in the election of Mr. Lincoln, in 1860, Mr. Nye was one of the most efficient workers, by his convincing logic and moving eloquence winning multitudes to the support of the Republican candidates.

Though never actively engaged as a soldier, Mr. Nye has frequently shown his interest in the military movements of the country. He was a General of the New York State Militia, and raised a regiment for service in the war with Mexico. He would have devoted himself to military service in the war for the suppression of the Rebellion, but the President believed that he could better promote the interests of the nation as Governor of the new Territory of Nevada, which needed the moulding and guiding influences of



James W. Nye
GOVERNOR OF NEVADA
1861-1864

such a man, and he was accordingly appointed to that position in 1861. When Nevada was admitted into the Union as a State he was elected United States Senator, and took his seat in 1865. Two years later he was re-elected for the term ending in 1873.

In the Senate he immediately took rank among the most fearless and able of the Radical Republicans. Entering Congress just at the close of the war, he aided in carrying all the great measures of re-construction. He opposed the policy of President Johnson, and voted for his conviction. Serving at first as Chairman of the Committee on Revolutionary Claims, he was afterward advanced to the more important position of Chairman of the Committee on Territories.

As a speaker, Mr. Nye is graceful, fluent, and sometimes eloquent. His trenchant logic and luminous facts command the respectful attention of the Senate, while his pungent satire, ready repartee and keen wit delight the popular audience in the galleries.

THOMAS W. OSBORN.

THOMAS WARD OSBORN was born at Scotch Plains, New Jersey, March 9, 1833. His grandfather, John B. Osborn, served in the Revolution as a major and quartermaster; and his grandmother, a sister of Ezra Darby, member of Congress from 1804 to 1808, has passed into history as one of the "Heroic Women of the Revolution." His parents removed to New York in 1842, and settled in Jefferson County, where his youth was passed in labor on the farm, with only the advantages of the district school for the months of each winter until 1854. He subsequently prepared for college at the Governeur Seminary, and in 1857 entered Madison University, where he graduated with the class of 1860.

Soon after, he entered the law office of Messrs. Starbuck & Sawyer, in Watertown, New York, and exerted himself with energy to prepare for admission to the bar. Immediately after the defeat at Bull Run, in 1861, he raised a company which, as Battery "D," was attached to the 1st Regiment of New York Artillery. Mr. Osborn at his own request was made first lieutenant, but in a few weeks received the commission of captain, and assumed command of the battery. In the following October, he returned to Syracuse, and after passing an examination was admitted to the bar.

His regiment having passed the winter in the Camp of Instruction at Washington, early in the spring of 1862 Captain Osborn, with his battery, joined the command of General Hooker on the lower Potomac. At the battle of Williamsburg in 1862, his battery being slightly in the rear, he took possession of the guns of Battery "H" First U. S. Artillery, from which its own men had been driven by the enemy. He commanded that battery throughout the entire engagement, which lasted all day, losing about one-third of his officers and men killed and wounded. He participated in all the important battles of the



J.W. Osborne

WILLIAM MORSE, Sculp.
51, NEW BOND STREET, L.

Peninsula in which General Hooker's command was engaged, besides being several times detached to take part in battles under other commanders. Just before the battle of the Wilderness, his battery was complimented by General Meade in General Orders, as having participated in more battles (32) than any regiment or battery in the Army of the Potomac. An inscription to that effect was placed upon the flag of the battery.

In the winter of 1862 and '63, Captain Osborn was attached to the staff of Major-General Berry as Chief of Artillery, and at the battle of Chancellorsville commanded the greater part of the artillery engaged on the evening of the 2d and morning of the 3d of May, when the main part of the battle was fought. He was standing by the side of the gallant Berry when he fell, and was himself hit three times in as many minutes.

Soon after the battle of Chancellorsville, he received promotion to the rank of major, in his own regiment, and was at once assigned to duty as Chief of Artillery in the Reserve Artillery Corps of the army, but soon after was assigned to the same duty on the staff of General Howard, commanding the 11th Army Corps.

At the battle of Gettysburg the 11th Corps was engaged early on the 1st day of July. The artillery of this Corps took position on Cemetery Hill, which it held during the ensuing battle lasting two days. Major Osborn placed in position his own batteries and those of the 1st Army Corps, as well as many of the batteries of the Reserve Corps; and during the entire engagement he commanded them, under the most trying circumstances. The position he held was more commanding and more exposed than any other on the field. Upon it the enemy turned nearly all his artillery, but did not succeed in driving a single battery or gun from the position. The conduct of Major Osborn and his command in the battle of Gettysburg was highly commended. A prominent officer who was present wrote: "The success of the Union Army in this battle may be attributed as much to the individual efforts and skill of Major Osborn in the disposition of the artillery corps under his command, and the efficient manner in which he handled it against

the enemy, as to the operations of any one officer participating in the engagement."

Under the command of General Hooker, Major Osborn took part in the engagement of Lookout Valley and all the battles in that vicinity. At the battle of Mission Ridge he reported to General Sheridan, and served with him during the entire series of battles before Chattanooga.

After the death of Major General McPherson, and the assignment of General Howard to the Army and Department of the Tennessee, Major Osborn was also transferred to that army as Chief of Artillery. Under his directions the artillery of the army was reorganized, and most of the batteries re-equipped and given an uniform armament. The artillery of the army was detached from the division of infantry of which it had previously formed a part, and brigaded under the Corps Commander and the Chief of Artillery. Under this compact and efficient organization, the artillery of the army remained until the general disbanding of the army at the close of the war.

Major Osborn participated in twenty of the great battles of the war, and in more than fifty engagements where over ten thousand men were engaged. He honorably earned the rank of Colonel to which he was advanced.

When General Howard was appointed Commissioner of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, he requested the assignment of Col. Osborn as Assistant Commissioner for the State of Alabama. A serious and painful accident, however, prevented his acceptance of the commissionership for Alabama for several weeks, and his assignment was changed to the State of Florida. During his administration of this office he was heartily supported by the commanding officers of the District, Gen. John Newton, and Gen. J. G. Foster, who co-operated with him so far as their orders from the President would permit.

The colored people of the State were assisted in every way possible in their contracts, and protected in all their interests. The land-holders were induced to co-operate in the administration of the affairs of the Bureau, and in protecting the freed people in all the rights of citizenship. During the spring and summer of 1866 the authority

of this department of the Government was so limited by President Johnson, that little was left to the Assistant Commissioners besides the mere official position, nearly all their powers having been taken away from them. For this reason Col. Osborn requested to be mustered out of service, which was done in August, 1866.

After leaving the army Mr. Osborn commenced the practice of law in the city of Tallahassee. In the following spring he was appointed Register in the Court of Bankruptcy. After the passage of the Reconstruction act in the spring of 1867 he at once took an active and leading part in the organization of the Republican party. He was elected chairman of the first Republican State Convention held in the State of Florida. His efforts were exerted to bring together, into a compact party organization, the Southern Unionists, the colored men, and recent immigrants from the North. In this he was so entirely successful that, in the election of delegates to the Constitutional Convention, but one Democrat was chosen. The constitution adopted by the Convention was drawn by Mr. Osborn, and was presented very nearly in the precise form and language in which it now appears.

At the nominating convention for State officers, he was urgently solicited to become a candidate for governor, but declined. Under his general direction the party was kept united and harmonious until the election of State officers, and the ratification of the constitution. Although most strenuous exertions were made to prevent the ratification of the constitution and the success of the Republican candidates, the election was carried by about seven thousand majority. The result of the election being decisive, the State at once became peaceful, and an evident desire was manifested on the part of all to acquiesce in the new constitution.

At the first session of the legislature under the new constitution, Mr. Osborn was elected to the United States Senate by a vote of fifty-three, against eighteen for Hon. William Marvin. Since the admission of Senator Osborn, he has acted and voted with the Republican party on all general questions, and has been an active supporter of the administration of President Grant.

DAVID T. PATTERSON.



DAVID T. PATTERSON was born in Green County, Tennessee, February 28, 1819. He received an academic education, and in the earlier part of his life was engaged in manufacturing pursuits, commencing as a paper-maker and laboring subsequently as a miller. He afterwards studied law, entered upon its practice, and settled in Greenville, where he married a daughter of Andrew Johnson, afterwards President of the United States.

In 1854 Mr. Patterson was elected a judge of the circuit court, and was re-elected to the same office in 1862. In 1864 he was a member of the State Convention of Tennessee that was ordered for the reconstruction of the State; and, in the same year, he was elected a delegate for the State at large to the Republican National Convention at Baltimore, by which Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Johnson were nominated for President and Vice-president of the United States; but he was prevented from attending from the fact that he was engaged as a member of the Board of Visitors at West Point Military Academy.

Mr. Patterson gave his vote for Mr. Lincoln at the re-election of the latter to the presidency of the United States; was a member of the Philadelphia Convention of 1866, and in the same year was elected to the United States Senate. He took his seat July 26, 1866, and his term of service expired in March, 1869. He was a member of the Committee on Revolutionary Claims and the Committee on the District of Columbia. He took no conspicuous part in legislation, but constantly by his votes supported the policy of the President as against Congress. At the close of his term in the Senate he went into retirement upon a farm belonging to his father-in-law, near Greenville, Tennessee.



J.W. Patterson

WILLIAM PATTERSON

OF DURHAM, NEWHAMPSHIRE

JAMES W. PATTERSON.

 JAMES W. PATTERSON was born in Henniker, a small farming town in Merrimack County, New Hampshire, July 2, 1823. His father was a direct descendant of William Duncan and Naomi Bell, from whom originated some of the most superior men which New Hampshire has produced. The subject of this sketch was, however, born in poverty, and inured to toil and hardship.

When eight years of age he went with his family to Lowell, Mass., where he remained until he was thirteen. In 1836, he went back with the family to his native town, and subsequently for two years worked on a farm, in winter attending the academy in Henniker village, two miles and a half distant. In 1836, he returned to Lowell, and obtained employment in a cotton mill. The agent of the mill, John Aiken, Esq., a gentleman of penetration, practiced in reading character, soon took him from the mill into his counting room, where he continued two years. While in this position he was a leading member of a debating society, conducted at that period with great spirit by the young men of Lowell. It seems to have been largely due to the aspirations awakened by this society, that, with the approbation of his friend Mr. Aiken, he resigned his place in the counting room, for the purpose of seeking a liberal education. In the ensuing winter he taught a district school in his native place, and in the spring of 1842, went to the city of Manchester, where his parents then resided, and there entered with all his energies upon his preparation for college. The study of a single year, with little or no instruction, sufficed to fit him for college. In 1844, at the age of

twenty-one, he entered Dartmouth College, and graduated with the first honors of his class in 1848. Subsequently for two years he was in charge of an academy in Woodstock, Conn., and at the same time he was pursuing a course of study with a view to the profession of the law. But becoming an intimate friend of Henry Ward Beecher, who at that period was accustomed to spend his vacations in Connecticut, he was induced through his influence to turn his attention to theology. In 1851, he entered the Theological Seminary at New Haven, of which the illustrious Dr. Taylor was then the leading spirit. In a single year he completed the prescribed studies of two, at the same time teaching in a ladies' seminary to pay his expenses.

From the Theological Seminary, Mr. Patterson was called back to Dartmouth College as tutor; and when the chair of Mathematics became vacant by the resignation of Prof. John S. Woodman, he was elected to that professorship. Subsequently, on the re-organization of the Departments, he was assigned to the chair of Astronomy and Meteorology, which he filled with conspicuous ability.

From 1858 to 1861, he was a member of the State Board of Education, and, as its Secretary, had the leading part of the work to do in preparing the Annual State Reports on Education. His duty as School Commissioner required him to address the people in various parts of the State, on the subject of Common School Education. The ability displayed by Mr. Patterson in these addresses, attracted the attention of the people, and caused them to demand his services in the wider fields of politics and statesmanship.

In 1862, he was sent to the State Legislature as a Representative of Hanover, the seat of Dartmouth College. His reputation and talents at once gave him a commanding position in that body.

In the spring of 1863, Mr. Patterson was elected a Representative from New Hampshire in the Thirty-eighth Congress. He was appointed on the Committee on Expenditures in the Treasury Department, and on that for the District of Columbia. In 1864, he was appointed a Regent of the Smithsonian Institution. In 1865, he was re-elected to Congress, serving on the Committee on Foreign Affairs,

and on a Special Committee on a Department of Education. In June, 1866, he was elected United States Senator for the term ending in 1873, and is now serving on the Committee on Foreign Relations, and that on the District of Columbia.

In the popular branch of Congress, Mr. Patterson more than justified the high expectations which his entrance into that body awakened. His duties as a member of the Committee on the District of Columbia immediately made him acquainted with leading public interests and the prominent business men of Washington, and it is safe to say that from then till now there has been no member of either branch of Congress above him in the esteem and confidence of all classes in the District. His lively interest in free schools has especially won for him the regards of all connected with that cause in the District. To him belongs the honor of drafting and maturing the excellent existing School Law of the District, providing for the free education of all the children, without distinction of color, and placing the colored schools upon the same basis with the white schools. A crude bill looking to this result was presented at the time to the Senate Committee on the District of Columbia; but such was the deference to Mr. Patterson in such matters, that the bill was sent to the House Committee, of which he was then Chairman, with the understanding that he should draft a School Law covering that whole subject. From his first entrance into Congress, he has been recognized by the people of the District as the special champion of education, and has frequently been called upon to promote this cause by public addresses. At the inauguration of the Wallach School House, the first free school edifice worthy of the cause erected in the National capital, July 4, 1863, Mr. Patterson delivered an address, which is one of the best, as well as one of the earliest of his efforts in furtherance of education in the District.

Among the best specimens of Mr. Patterson's eloquence, is his eulogy upon the life and character of Abraham Lincoln, delivered at Concord, New Hampshire, June 3, 1865, at the request of the State authorities. This discourse delineates the wonderful character

of the illustrious martyr with remarkable discrimination and comprehensiveness, while it often rises to the highest style of this species of commemorative eloquence. The following paragraph doubtless owes something of its terse and truthful brevity to the fact that the orator was enunciating the results of stern personal experience. He says of President Lincoln :

“ Poverty brought labor and habits of industry; privations gave a broad experience and sympathy with those who eat bread in the sweat of their brows; the irrepressible impulses of a mind conscious of strength, induced study and thought. These were the sources of that intelligence, that tender sensibility to the misfortunes and sorrows of the humblest citizen, and that large executive ability which characterized his subsequent career.”

Perhaps the ablest, most finished, and most eloquent of all his published discourses is that which he pronounced on the “Responsibilities of Republics,” August 29, 1865, at Fort Popham, Me., on the 258th Anniversary of the planting of the Popham Colony. A single passage taken almost at random is here introduced. After a compact and philosophical statement of the fundamental ideas comprised in the American system, and of the process by which those ideas were developed into a Government, the orator adds:

“ But the end is not yet. We, too, have work to do; for the foundations of the republic are not yet completed. We cannot escape the responsibility of those who build for posterity. The great architects of our system reared the framework, and other generations have labored faithfully and successfully upon it. The star-lit flag which symbolizes its existence, more beautiful than the pearly gates of morning closed with bars of crimson, has been unfurled over fleet, and camp, and court, but the broad substructure of this great nation cannot be settled firmly and compactly in its bed in a hundred years.

“ ‘I am a long time painting,’ says an old Greek artist; ‘for I paint for a long time.’ This is the laconic language of a universal truth. Whatever is destined long to survive, comes slowly to maturity. The primeval forests of cedar and oak, whose giant strength

has resisted the forces of decay through half the life-time of man, slowly lifted their gnarled and massive forms through centuries of growth. The earth's deep plating was laid, stratum above stratum, through the lapse of the silent, unchronicled ages; for it was to be the theater of man's historic career. While the old cathedrals of Europe have risen slowly to their grand and solemn beauty, kings, their founders, have moldered back to dust within their vaults, and the names of their architects have perished from memory. Succeeding generations have added a tower, a stained window, or a jeweled altar, and lain down to rest beneath their shadow, and the work still lingers; but there they stand, firm as the hills, perpetuating in histories of stone the moral life and intellectual growth of the world, through many of its most eventful centuries. These are but types of national life.

"From the foundations of Rome, eight centuries, crowded with the reverses and triumphs of a heroic people, had passed into history, ere she became the mistress of the world.

"The republic of Venice, too, which at first fled from Rome's insatiable lust of power, and hid herself in the islands of the sea, dropping her bridal ring into the Adriatic, while the white-haired Doge pronounced the '*Desponsamus te, mare, in signum veri perpetuique dominii*,' wedded the waves to her sweep of power through thirteen hundred years of freedom."

One of his ablest speeches in the House was that which he delivered in 1864, on the Consular Bill, and which was recognized in Congress, at the State Department, and elsewhere, as an eminently able and exhaustive presentation upon that important subject. His speech on the Constitutional Amendment may also be mentioned as one of the best of the many able arguments made in the House at the time of the passage of that great measure. His services in the last two Presidential Campaigns have made his finished and popular eloquence familiar to every section of the country. On the stump he is perhaps surpassed by no orator in the country in the popularity and effectiveness of his eloquence. In all these efforts he deals

almost exclusively with the great philosophical principles of Government and of parties, appealing to the understanding, and not to the passions of his audiences.

In the Senate, Mr. Patterson has already reached a high position. His broad, liberal culture, the deliberative character of his eloquence, and his habit of grappling with subjects in their foundation principles, all combine to give him great influence in the Senate. He fills the seat vacated by Judge Daniel Clark, and it is a just and ample tribute to say of him that he adorns the place that for ten years was occupied by that able and eminent Senator.

Mr. Patterson seems to have been exceedingly fortunate in his career, but his success has been the natural result of the fact that every public duty to which he has successively been called, has been executed wisely and well. From his first entrance into public life he has been a favorite with all classes in his State, and in Congress as well as at home at the present time he has the respect of all as an honest, able, and enlightened Statesman.



J. C. Penney

1000 BROADWAY NEW YORK

1000 BROADWAY NEW YORK

SAMUEL C. POMEROY.

SAMUEL C. POMEROY was born in South Hampton, Massachusetts, January 3, 1816, and his boyhood was spent upon his father's farm. In 1836, he entered Amherst College; but at the end of two years, leaving college, he went to reside in Monroe County, New York, where he continued about four years. He then returned to his native town of South Hampton.

In 1840, during the time of his residence in the State of New York, he heard that remarkable man, Alvan Stewart, on the subject of slavery, was deeply impressed with his eloquence, became a ready convert to anti-slavery principles, and began at once to labor zealously to promote them.

His first effort seemed rather discouraging. Proposing to organize a county liberty party, he issued a call for a meeting to be held at the county seat. On arriving at the place of meeting on the day appointed, after a ride of twenty miles in his own wagon, he found an audience of just two persons beside himself. After waiting an hour for other arrivals, and waiting in vain, nothing daunted, he called the meeting to order, one of the audience taking the chair, and the other acting as secretary. Mr. Pomeroy then delivered his speech, after which resolutions were presented and adopted, and a county ticket formed, which received at the election *eleven* votes in a population of twenty thousand. In six years afterwards, however, the liberty party ticket of this same county carried the election.

Returning to South Hampton, as we have seen, in 1842, Mr. Pomeroy, by his zealous efforts, had the satisfaction of seeing constantly increasing members added to the new party. He lectured in school-

houses—preached from house to house—met objections—answered arguments—softened down prejudices, and made converts everywhere. Year by year the work prospered, and though slow, it was sure; for victory, at last, crowned his efforts. Annually, for eight years, he was on the anti-slavery ticket for the Massachusetts legislature, but was unsuccessful until 1852, when he was elected over both Whigs and Democrats. His characteristic anti-slavery zeal he boldly carried with him into the legislature. On the occasion of the rendition of the slave Burns to his assumed owner, he gave utterance to the following burst of eloquence :

“Sir,” said he, addressing the Speaker, “when you have another man to enslave, do it as you did before, in the gray of the early morning. Don’t let in the light of the brighter day upon the scene, for the sun would blush, if you did not, and turn his face away to weep. What! return a man to hopeless slavery! to a condition darker than death, and more damning than perdition! Death and the grave are not without their hope; light from the hill-tops of immortality cross the darkness and bid the sleepers awake, and live, and hope; and perdition with its unyielding grasp has no claims upon a man’s posterity. But remorseless slavery swallows up not the man alone, but his hapless offspring through unending generations, for ever and for evermore!”

About the time of the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill in 1854, Mr. Pomeroy was in Washington, and his call upon President Pierce happened to be at the very hour of his signing it. It is said, in fact, that the ink was not yet dry upon the parchment when Mr. Pomeroy addressed the President in these prophetic words :

“Sir, this measure which has passed is not the triumph you suppose. It does not end, but only commences hostilities. Slavery is victorious in Congress, but it has not yet triumphed among the people. Your victory is but an adjournment of the question from the halls of legislation at Washington to the open prairies of the freedom-loving West; and there, Sir, we shall beat you, depend upon it!”

The passage of the Kansas-Nebraska act at once “fired the heart”

of the North. "Emigration to Kansas!" became a sort of watchword far and near. Freedom-loving men and women everywhere realized, for the first time, how much they were individually capable of doing. Organized emigration was at once initiated by the genius of Eli Thayer, who, under a charter obtained from the Massachusetts legislature, organized the "New England Emigrant Aid Company." In this enterprise, Mr. Thayer was ably seconded by Mr. Pomeroy, who discerned at a glance the value and practical nature of the idea. Of this company he immediately became the financial and general agent, taking an active part in procuring and distributing all necessary information relating to the history, soil, climate, distance, etc., of Kansas, together with rents, time of passage, and expense for reaching there. Moreover, he lectured extensively, and by word and deed stimulated all who could make the sacrifice to emigrate to Kansas, and offered himself to be their Moses to conduct them to the promised land.

It was on the 27th of August, 1854, that the first band of emigrants, under the leadership of Mr. Pomeroy, and numbering two hundred, started from Boston for the far West. At various points on their way, they received the greetings and sympathies of warm-hearted and earnest men and women, like themselves, who bade them God-speed with many prayers, tears, and benedictions. On the 6th of September they came to Kansas City, Missouri, on the borders of the great land whither they were destined; and passing up the Kansas River, they pitched their tents at the end of three days' journey, and gave the name of *Lawrence* to the place of their sojourn. Another colony soon followed, whom Mr. Pomeroy met at St. Louis, and conducted them forward; and in November another still came on, and were likewise met and guided by him into the Territory. Meanwhile, Gov. Reed and other appointed officials came on to administer the government of the new Territory, and, in behalf of the emigrants, were welcomed by Mr. Pomeroy in such words as these:

"We welcome you to these rude homes of ours in the wilderness, which we have journeyed many weary miles to make, not because we look for better or for happier ones than we have left behind, but be-

cause we intend, in good faith, to meet the issues of the hour. In the spirit of the act which reclaims these territories from savage haunts, and organizes them into homes for civilized men, we came to do our share in the work necessary to accomplish it. In pursuance of this object, and in imitation of those who sought liberty with the *Mayflower*, we came bringing with us, as they did with them, the institutions of our faith and our freedom—our churches and our schools. With the Bible in one hand, and the school-book in the other, we propose to make this ‘wilderness to bud and blossom as the rose.’ This Bible we lay upon the altar of a free church—this primer upon the desk of a free school, and may the God of our Pilgrim Fathers aid us in the work!”

The limits of this sketch do not permit us to tell of the inroads of Southern banditti that followed this emigration—of their guns, bowie-knives, and whiskey—of how slavery sought eagerly to gain possession of the fair land of Kansas—how, for this purpose, and under the auspices of a weak and wicked administration of the General Government, it promptly introduced its hideous machinery of outrages, murders, house-breakings, and robberies.

Amid the disturbance and violence of this stormy year of 1856, Mr. Pomeroy was called upon to prove his fidelity to truth, and his courage in maintaining principle. Beaten, arrested, and twice imprisoned, threatened with death, and sentenced by a mob to be hung, he still escaped to complete the work yet remaining to be done. We find him in Washington conferring with the prospective Governor of Kansas—lecturing in various places in the East in its behalf—rallying and shipping Sharpe’s rifles—forwarding ammunition, and thus variously preparing for the worst. But peace came soon, and 1857 opened auspiciously for the new Territory.

Thus far the career of Mr. Pomeroy had been that of a philanthropist. His political career now commences, and it commences with his righteous opposition to the infamous “Lecompton Constitution.” Against this he fought day and night, and by addresses and public lectures, not only throughout Kansas, but the Northern States,

until in 1858 Congress sent the swindle to the “tomb of the Capulets.”

Along this period we have Mr. Pomeroy as Mayor of Atchison—as establishing the first free school of that town—building with his own private means a brick church, and presenting it to the Congregationalists—and entering heartily into plans for the relief of Kansas amid the terrible drought and famine of 1860.

It was in connection with this last-named effort that the noble disinterestedness of Mr. Pomeroy’s character shone forth as conspicuously as in any other of his labors and sacrifices. Said he, at this time, to an intimate friend: “ You know I intend to be a candidate for the United States Senate, and if I go into this relief business, it is certain to kill me; for every dollar that passes through my hands is sure to make an enemy of somebody. Some who don’t need, will grumble because I refuse them; others who are helped, will be dissatisfied because I do not give them more; and my political enemies will make every mistake tell against me, whether it be mine or the fault of somebody else. They will lie about me in every way they can, and the result of the whole business will be, so far as the United States Senatorship is concerned, that I shall be killed as dead as Julius Cæsar. But still, if this people are in danger of suffering again, I mean to go in and help them anyhow, and let my political prospects go, and trust to God for the result;” and Mr. Pomeroy proved by the result of his confidence, that “Blessed are all they that put their trust in him.” Accordingly, after aiding most efficiently in ministering the ample relief that flowed into Kansas from ten thousand benevolent hands, so well satisfied with him were the people, that they placed him, forthwith, in the United States Senate, where he took his seat at the extra session, which met July 4, 1861. In 1867 Mr. Pomeroy was re-elected for the Senatorial term ending 1873.

It seems quite unnecessary to write that Mr. Pomeroy’s entire career in the Senate has been what might be expected from the antecedents of the man. The very first measure introduced by him was precisely characteristic, and was a “Bill to suppress the Slaveholders”

Rebellion." The very wording of the title evinces the intention of the author, which was to place the Rebellion directly at the door of the guilty party. His entire Congressional record, we believe, has been correspondent—all his speeches and votes have been eminently patriotic—and the true interests of the country have ever lain near his heart.

On the 5th of March, 1866, Mr. Pomeroy, advocating universal suffrage by Congressional enactment, which he maintained was "nothing less than throwing about all men the essential safeguards of the Constitution," used the following language: "Let us not take counsel of our fears, but of our hopes; not of our enemies, but of our friends. By all the memories which cluster about the pathway in which we have been led; by all the sacrifices, blood, and tears of the conflict; by all the hopes of a freed country and a disenthralled race; yea, as a legacy for mankind, let us now secure a free representative republic, based upon impartial suffrage and that human equality made clear in the Declaration of Independence. To this entertainment let us invite our countrymen and all nations, committing our work, when done, to the verdict of posterity and the blessing of Almighty God."

One of Mr. Pomeroy's friends has graphically said: "True to principle, true to his convictions, true to his country, and terribly true to his country's foes, he occupies to-day, as Senator of the United States, a proud position among his peers—a position that honors both representative and the represented. As a patriot, he is earnest; as a statesman, logical; as a politician, consistent; and as a man, genial, generous, and just."

JOHN POOL.

 JOHN POOL was born in Pasquotank County, North Carolina, June 16, 1826. He graduated at the University of North Carolina in 1847, and in the following August, having obtained license, commenced the practice of law in his native county. In 1856 he was elected to the State Senate, and re-elected in 1858. In 1860 he was the regularly nominated Whig candidate for governor of the State, in opposition to the incumbent, Governor Ellis, but by a reduced and very small majority he was defeated.

Mr. Pool declined to take part in the secession movement, and remained in private life until 1864, when he was again elected to the State Senate as a peace candidate over his secession rival. At the ensuing session of the Legislature, he headed the peace movement, and introduced and defended a series of "Peace Resolutions," proposing to appoint five commissioners on the part of North Carolina to treat directly with the government of the United States.

Mr. Pool was elected a member of the State Constitutional Convention, called by the President in 1865; and was again elected to the State Senate convened under the new constitution in the same year. In December of that year he was elected by the Legislature to the Senate of the United States; but North Carolina, under the President's policy, not being allowed representation, he did not take his seat under that election. He was again elected in 1868, to the United States Senate, by the Legislature convened in pursuance of the Reconstruction acts of Congress, was qualified, and took his seat in July, for the Senatorial term ending in March, 1873. During the remainder of the Fortieth Congress, he participated actively in the business of legislation, serving on the Committees on Indian Affairs, Revision of the Laws and Revolutionary Claims.

ALEXANDER RAMSEY.



LEXANDER RAMSEY, was born near Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, September 8, 1815. His paternal ancestry were Scotch, as the name indicates, having descended from two emigrations—one to the North of Ireland, and thence to the United States, constituting the well-known Scotch-Irish population of this country. The family of his mother was of German descent.

Left an orphan at ten years of age, by the death of his father, young Ramsey was assisted by an uncle in his efforts to obtain an education and engage in business. He was a clerk in the store of this uncle at Harrisburg. About the year 1828, he was for a short time employed in the office of the register of deeds of Dauphin County. He afterward qualified himself to pursue the business of house-carpenter, but at length, impelled by a love of reading, he determined to study law. With this view, he became a student of Lafayette College, at Easton, Pennsylvania, whence he passed, in 1837, to the office of Hamilton Alrich, Esq., of Harrisburg. He also prosecuted his studies at Carlisle in the law-school of Hon. John Reed, and was admitted to practice in 1839. During this period he often engaged in teaching.

The following year was the celebrated Harrison campaign; and Mr. Ramsey was so prominent in the organization of Whig clubs, that he was chosen Secretary of the Electoral College, which cast the votes of Pennsylvania for Harrison and Tyler. In 1841, he was elected chief clerk of the House of Representatives of Pennsylvania. In 1843, he was nominated for Congress, and elected representative for the district composed of the counties of Dauphin, Lebanon, and Schuylkill, and served in the Twenty-eighth Congress, (1843-4.) Having been reelected in 1844, was a member of the Twenty-ninth Congress, which terminated March 4th, 1847. During these four



Engr'd by G. E. Perine, New York.

A. H. Ramsey

LITTLE, BROWN & COMPANY, BOSTON.

1850. — 1851. — 1852.

years Mr. Ramsey developed those qualities of sagacity and firmness which have been conspicuous during his whole career; and no member of the Pennsylvania delegation commanded more respect. His reputation extended to all parts of the State; and his political friends intrusted to his management, as Chairman of the Whig State Committee, the gubernatorial campaign of 1848, which also involved the election of General Taylor to the Presidency.

Immediately after the inauguration of President Taylor, it devolved upon him to select the officers of the new Territory of Minnesota. The position of governor was tendered to Mr. Ramsey, whose choice of a future residence on the Upper Mississippi was confirmed by a visit some years previously to Texas and other south-western territories. The date of his commission as governor was April 2, 1849; and in May he arrived, with his family, at St. Paul, where he has since resided.

Mrs. Ramsey—*née* Anna Earle Jenks—is also a native of Pennsylvania, the daughter of Hon. Michael H. Jenks, of Berks county, who served in Congress as a colleague of Mr. Ramsey.

When Governor Ramsey assumed his duties as the executive officer of the Territory of Minnesota, he ascertained, by a census, that the population, other than Indians, was only 4,680, mostly in the vicinity of Fort Snelling, and in the settlements of lumberers on the St. Croix River. The Indians, recently increased by a removal to a reservation in the Territory of the Winnebago tribe, numbered about 35,000; and the entire region west of the Mississippi River was in their possession, except the military reservation inclosing Fort Snelling. The western limit of the Territory was the Missouri River; and the entire area was fully 166,000 square miles.

The territorial government was organized June 1, 1849. On the 11th of June, an executive proclamation established three judicial districts, and provided for the first election of a territorial legislature.

This body assembled in the dining-hall of the Central Hotel, in St. Paul, on the 3d of September. In the first message of the governor, he strongly advised against a public debt, and invoked the action of

Congress to extend the preëmption laws to unsurveyed lands, and to limit the sales of the public lands to actual settlers. The National Legislature promptly responded to the recommendation in favor of preëmptors; and the evil of non-resident ownership has had less existence under the land administration in Minnesota than in many other Western States.

Governor Ramsey almost immediately commenced negotiations with the Indian tribes for the cession of their possessory rights to the public domain. The treaty of Mendota was first effected, by which the title of the Sioux half-breeds to a valuable parallelogram of territory near Lake Pepin, conterminous with the lake and extending westward about thirty miles, was commuted, and the district opened to settlement. During the years 1851-2, a negotiation was made with the Dakota nation for the cession of forty million acres west of the Mississippi, and which now constitutes Southern Minnesota. The first treaty of July 18, 1851, was amended by the Senate of the United States, requiring a new assemblage of the bands in 1852.

In the autumn of 1851, Governor Ramsey negotiated with the Chippewas of Northern Minnesota for the cession of thirty miles on each side of the Red River of the North. This important treaty was not ratified by the Senate, postponing fully ten years the settlement of that region of Minnesota. After the adjournment of the Chippewa Council at Pembina, Governor Ramsey embarked on the Red River, and visited the Selkirk settlement, seventy miles north of the international frontier, on latitude 49°. His party was received with much consideration by Governor Christie, the officer of the Hudson Bay Company, then in command at Fort Garry. Few descriptions of this remote and unique colony convey a more vivid and correct impression than a narrative of this visit, which was afterward published by Governor Ramsey, and partly repeated in a recent speech on the Winnipeg insurrection, delivered in the Senate of the United States.

In 1853, with a change of parties in the administration of the Federal government, Governor Ramsey was succeeded in the office of territorial governor by Willis A. Gorman. In taking leave of the

executive office, a prediction was hazarded of the future progress of the new community on the sources of the Mississippi which was then deemed sanguine, but has been more than realized by events. Governor Ramsey's last message assigned ten years for the accomplishment of a State organization, which was reached in 1858; and twenty years, or 1873, for a population of half a million, which has been fully realized by the census of 1870. His horoscope of railroad connections with Chicago, St. Louis, Lake Superior, and the Red River of the North, for which twenty years were allowed, will be witnessed before 1873.

During a period of great party excitement which followed the retirement of Governor Ramsey, he met some injurious imputations upon his conduct of the negotiations with the Sioux Indians, by a demand for an investigation by a committee of the United States Senate. The result was an emphatic approval of his action—the verdict of a body politically hostile.

In 1855, Governor Ramsey served a term as Mayor of St. Paul. In 1857, he was the candidate of the Republican Party for governor under the State organization. The election was close, the majority of H. H. Sibley, the Democratic candidate, who was declared chosen, having been exceeded by a vote on the Pembina frontier which was well known to be fraudulent. In 1859, on a second trial, he was elected governor, over G. L. Becker, by a majority of 3,752, in a total vote of 38,918.

On again assuming the executive office, Governor Ramsey illustrated the practical qualities for which he has always been distinguished. He found the State deeply discredited; and he inaugurated a policy of rigid retrenchment. He proposed and effected a reduction of salaries and a diminution of the number of members of the Legislature.

The laws for the imposition and collection of taxes were thoroughly revised; but, while husbanding the revenue, he opposed all sacrifices of the lands donated by the general government. He especially resisted the demand for the sale of the school lands at low rates, and

the distribution of their proceeds among the counties. He advocated, in a message of great force, that a minimum price of \$8 per acre should be fixed, with a rate of \$1.25 for swamp lands, reserving the proceeds of the latter for charitable institutions. These suggestions, with some modifications, were adopted. The fund accumulated under this legislation, in 1870, is \$2,371,199, the proceeds of only 363,000 acres, or about one eighth of the lands appropriated for the encouragement of education.

At the outbreak of the Southern rebellion, Governor Ramsey was in Washington; and immediately after the attack upon Fort Sumter, even in advance of President Lincoln's proclamation, he called on the Secretary of War, and tendered 1,000 men from Minnesota. The tender was accepted by Mr. Cameron, and became the initiative of an enrollment of 25,000 men of all arms—the contingent of Minnesota for the national defense. During the active scenes of the first year of the war, Governor Ramsey was reelected governor by a majority of 5,826 in a poll of 26,722 votes.

An Indian war, unparalleled for atrocity, broke out in August, 1862, upon the western frontiers of Minnesota. The Sioux bands, observing the great exertions of the whites for the suppression of the rebellion, were prepared to believe that their great father at Washington was powerless to repress hostilities; and an unfortunate delay in the payment of annuities increased the excitement. A fatal affray, which at any other time would have passed with the punishment of the parties implicated, became the signal of wide-spread massacre. At least five hundred settlers, of all ages, lost their lives. Thousands abandoned their homes; and the panic extended to the Mississippi towns. Governor Ramsey was indefatigable in his exertions to restore confidence and defend the frontier. Troops were dispatched under H. H. Sibley. The Indians were severely chastised; a large number were captured, of whom thirty were executed at Mankato; and the Sioux nation was forcibly expelled from the territory of the State. During the progress of these events, an extra session of the Legislature became necessary. The message of Governor Ramsey

on that occasion is a graphic narrative of this striking passage of border history.

In January, 1863, Governor Ramsey was elected Senator of the United States, in place of Henry M. Rice, and was chosen for a second term in 1869.

As Chairman of the Senate Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads, Senator Ramsey has devoted himself to the extension and reform of that important branch of the public service. A series of treaties has been consummated with his efficient coöperation, by which the postal rates to England and Germany have been greatly reduced, and, in 1869, Mr. Ramsey visited Paris to urge a similar arrangement. The terms which he then indicated, as the representative of Post-master-General Creswell—although not immediately accepted—have since been proposed by the French government, but were met by a counter-proposition for a still more material reduction of postage. These negotiations are likely to result in a common rate to all parts of Europe not largely in excess of our inland postage.

The abolition of the franking privilege has been proposed and supported by Senator Ramsey. A bill to that effect passed the House of Representatives at the session of 1869-70, and led to an elaborate discussion in the Senate, but failed by a few votes to become a law. The burden of the argument against all exemptions in the payment of postage mostly devolved on the Chairman of the Post-Office Committee; and his array of facts against the continuance of the franking privilege attracted the attention of the country.

As a member of the Senate Committee on Pacific Railroads, Mr. Ramsey has contributed materially to the legislation facilitating the construction of the Northern Pacific Railroad, and is understood to advocate efficient encouragement to the enterprise of a Southern Transcontinental road. He has always favored three trunk lines between the Mississippi and the Pacific States as necessary and just. Observing also the beneficent influence of railroads in Minnesota and other States, he has supported the donation in aid of railways of alternate sections of public lands to give value to the domain still

held by government, and to relieve the settlers of excessive burdens of transportation.

Reference has been made to a visit by Governor Ramsey to the Selkirk Settlement, in 1851, and to his favorable impressions of that singular and interesting community. As governor and senator, he has never omitted efforts to establish commercial and postal relations between the contiguous districts; and, in anticipation of the withdrawal of the jurisdiction of the Hudson Bay Company, he presented to the Senate, in 1868, the outlines of a treaty between the United States, England, and Canada, by which, with the cession of the north-west territory and British Columbia to the United States, Canada might make certain of a liberal arrangement for reciprocal trade, and all claims against Great Britain originating during the late civil war might cease to be a topic of diplomatic discussion. These views were repeated in 1870, in connection with the resistance of the Red River people to a plan of irresponsible government under a Canadian official; and though their consummation is for the present postponed, yet their influence upon the coming question of a political union between the United States and Canada is very apparent.

This hasty summary will sufficiently indicate the prominent position of Senator Ramsey. Few of his colleagues have exhibited more tact in establishing and sustaining personal influence. His elaborate speeches are terse and pointed, seldom exceeding thirty minutes in delivery; while his self-possession and force of statement in the conversational discussions of the Senate are most effective. He has proved himself a vigilant guardian of the interests of Minnesota. Of a frank, hearty bearing, his figure, countenance, and voice concur to make him a favorite with his associates and with all observers.



B. F. Rice

BENJAMIN F. RICE.

BENJAMIN F. RICE was born in East Otto, Cattaraugus County, New York, May 26, 1828. As a boy, he worked on his father's farm during the spring and summer months, and at fifteen he commenced teaching school in winter, and attending an academy in the fall. At eighteen years of age he left his native State, and entered upon the study of law in Cincinnati, Ohio, with James Burt, Esq. After about six months study, it becoming necessary to recruit his finances, he went to Cambridge city, Indiana, and again engaged in teaching school, at the same time continuing the study of law in the office of Hon. James Raridan, a leading lawyer of the West. After a year's study there he was examined and licensed to practice law. His health having been impaired by close confinement he was compelled to postpone entering upon the practice of law for two years, during which time he travelled in Texas and Mexico. He then located in Irvine, Estelle County, Kentucky, where he entered upon the practice of law, which he pursued successfully for ten years, in that and surrounding counties. In 1855 he was elected to the Kentucky Legislature, and served on the Judiciary and other important committees during the ensuing session. He was appointed in 1856 Presidential Elector on the Democratic ticket, and met during the canvass most of the prominent politicians of the State in discussion upon the stump. In 1858 he was married to Miss Nannie Riddel, of Irvine, Ky. He was a candidate for Congress in 1859, but withdrew from the canvass through physical inability to engage actively in it.

In 1860 he removed to Minnesota, and located in Mankato, where he practiced law successfully until the breaking out of the Rebellion. After the capture of Fort Sumter he attempted to induce the Democratic party, as such, to take the war side of the

2 BENJAMIN F. RICE.

question. To effect this he held many meetings, and had several public discussions, but the effort proved unsuccessful, and he, with all who joined him in the attempt, entered the service by enlisting in the 3d Minnesota Infantry Volunteers. After serving for thirty days as a private he was made captain of a company, and served three years in that capacity. He had three commissions sent him at different times for promotion, but declined to accept them. He served in Kentucky, Tennessee, and Mississippi. After the fall of Vicksburg he was transferred to Arkansas, and was with the expedition that captured Little Rock in the fall of 1863. He served there until the latter part of the following year, when he resigned. A loyal State government having been organized, and civil government having been restored in a large part of the State, he located at Little Rock, where he opened an office and entered upon a very prosperous career as a lawyer.

In 1867 he led off in the organization of the Republican party in Arkansas, and at the first State Convention held in the spring of that year was made Chairman of the State Central Committee. Under his supervision the Republican party carried the State in three different elections, including the Presidential election of 1868. He was not himself a candidate for any office during the reconstruction period, devoting undivided attention to the work of combining various elements into a harmonious and victorious party.

Arkansas having finally been brought into a condition suitable for restoration to practical relations with the Union, Mr. Rice was chosen a United States Senator for the long term ending March 3, 1873. He proceeded at once to Washington, and urged the immediate admission of the State, which was accomplished in advance of that of any other of the rebel States.

Upon being admitted to the Senate he was placed on three important Committees, those on the Judiciary, the Pacific Railroad, and the District of Columbia. Giving prompt attention to his duties, both in the Senate and on Committees, he soon acquired the reputation of being an efficient working member.

THOMAS J. ROBERTSON.

 HOMAS J. ROBERTSON was born in Fairfield County, South Carolina, August 3, 1823. His father, John Robertson, was a wealthy planter who is still living, honored in having served the country as a volunteer in the war of 1812.

The subject of this sketch pursued his preparatory studies at Mount Zion Academy in his native district, and graduated at South Carolina College, Columbia, in December, 1843. He entered upon the study of medicine, but soon found that this was not congenial to his tastes and inclinations, which from the associations of his early life were drawn towards agricultural pursuits. He engaged in planting, at the same time giving attention to railroad enterprises—the most efficient aids for the development of the agricultural interests of the country.

At the breaking out of the rebellion he did not join the multitude of Southern people who took arms against the United States, but stood forth a remarkable exception among men of his class in loyalty to the Union. He remained during the entire war an outspoken Union man, and never in any way compromised his position as a loyal citizen of the United States. He was a member of the State Constitutional Convention which met under the Reconstruction Acts. At the first meeting of the General Assembly, under the new Constitution, he was elected a Senator from South Carolina in the Congress of the United States by a vote almost unanimous, and took his seat July 22, 1868. He was placed on the Committees on Manufactures and Claims, and was made chairman of the Select Committee on the Removal of Political Disabilities. His term of office expires March 3, 1871.

EDMUND G. ROSS.

 EDMUND G. ROSS was born in Ashland, Ohio, December 7, 1826. He received a good education, learned the art of printing, and was for a time foreman in the office of the "Milwaukee Sentinel." At the commencement of the Kansas troubles, he went to that territory, took an active part in its local affairs, and became editor of the "Kansas Tribune"—at that time the only free State paper, all others having been destroyed. He was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1859, which framed the present Constitution of the State, and from that time till 1861 he served in the State Legislature. At the outbreak of the rebellion he enlisted as a private soldier in a Kansas regiment, and was promoted step by step to the rank of major. In July, 1866, he was appointed by the governor of the State a Senator in Congress from Kansas for the unexpired term of James H. Lane, deceased, took his seat July 25, and was re-elected in January, 1867. In the Fortieth Congress he served on the Committee on Indian Affairs, on Mines and Mining, and as chairman of the Joint Committee on Enrolled Bills.

Among the speeches of Mr. Ross during this Congress was his address to the Senate on the bill to establish peace with certain Indian tribes. In a speech on the resolution to investigate alleged improper influences in the Impeachment trial of President Johnson, Mr. Ross vindicated himself against insinuations prejudicial to his integrity in connection with his vote for the President's acquittal. "I could not," said he, "declare the President guilty of high crimes and misdemeanors on mere differences as to governmental policy. I sought to divest my mind of all party prejudice, hear the accusations and the evidence, and endeavored to cast my vote in the cause with the candor and courage of an honest judge."

WILLARD SAULSBURY.



WILLARD SAULSBURY was born in Kent County, Delaware, June 2, 1820. He was educated at Delaware College, and at Dickinson College. He adopted the profession of law, and was admitted to the bar in 1845. In 1850 he was appointed attorney-general of Delaware, and held the office five years. In 1859 he was elected a Senator in Congress from Delaware, and in 1864 was re-elected for the term ending in 1871. He was a member of the "Chicago Convention" of 1864, and during his entire political career has been actively identified with the Democratic party. When he entered the Senate his party was in the majority, but it has been his lot during the greater portion of his service to act with a meagre minority. From the first he opposed the designs of the secessionists. On the message of President Buchanan, of December, 1860, Messrs. Wigfall and Ivison occupied an entire day in the Senate advocating the doctrine of secession. At the close of the discussion Mr. Saulsbury briefly and emphatically declared the attitude of Delaware to be one of strict loyalty to the Union. When Jefferson Davis introduced in the Senate his celebrated resolutions in favor of secession, Mr. Saulsbury moved as a substitute a quotation from Washington's farewell address. In caucus he opposed the movement, and was the only Democratic Senator who did not vote for the resolutions which finally passed. His position in the important crisis was similar to that of Crittenden of Kentucky, and Pearce of Maryland. He voted in favor of the resolution authorizing President Lincoln to use military force for the collection of the revenues in Charleston, and other harbors held by the rebels. During the war, and subsequently, he constantly opposed the Republican majority in the Senate. The Civil Rights bill, the Freedmen's Bureau bill, and all the constitutional amendments encountered his able and earnest, but ineffectual, opposition.

FREDERICK A. SAWYER.

 FREDERICK A. SAWYER was born in Bolton, Worcester County, Massachusetts, December 12, 1822. He attended the public schools of Bolton and the neighboring towns, and subsequently entered Harvard University, where he was graduated among the high scholars of his class in 1844. Devoting himself to the work of education he was successively employed as a teacher in Gardiner and Wiscasset, Maine; Nashua, New Hampshire, and Lowell, South Reading, and Boston, Massachusetts. In 1854 he married a daughter of the late Ira Gay, Esq., of Nashua, New Hampshire.

In 1859 he accepted an invitation to become principal of the State Normal School for girls in Charleston, South Carolina, which position he held until September, 1864, when, after long and persistent efforts on the part of his friends on the Board of Commissioners of the Normal School he obtained for himself and family a passport through the lines of the Confederate Army.

As a teacher, the life of Mr. Sawyer for twenty years was an unbroken success. He possessed in a peculiar degree those qualifications which endeared him to his pupils; gentleness, patience, suavity and the ability to communicate knowledge with perspicuity and impressiveness. The associations incident to the school-room extended to the family circle, and thence to the community, until there were few men whose personal character and intellectual acquirements commanded more general respect. During the war, when the presence of Northern men was universally looked upon with disfavor, and Mr. Sawyer was known to be loyal to the government of the



Patrick K. Sancyu

Union, the most ultra of his political opponents conceded to him the credit of being a gentleman too courageous to surrender and too honest to conceal his convictions. Up to the hour of his departure for the North his consistency of principle and his integrity of purpose created that confidence in him which afterwards took more definite shape when he entered the arena of public life. During the years 1864 and '65, Mr. Sawyer made many patriotic speeches in the North, and when hostilities ceased he returned to Charleston as Collector of Internal Revenue for the Second District of South Carolina, the first civil appointment made in the State after the war. It was a just reward for his devotion to the cause of the Union, and its bestowal gave entire satisfaction to the people.

Subsequently he was elected a member of the convention to frame a new constitution for the State, but, owing to the exacting nature of the duties of his official position, he was unable to participate in the proceedings of that body. At the first session of the General Assembly elected under the new constitution, Mr. Sawyer was pressed to represent the State in the United States Senate. The secret of his personal popularity was the opinion which prevailed in all portions of the State that he was a gentleman of unswerving integrity and talent, and was possessed of broad, statesmanlike views to make him a fit representative of the interests of the State, at a time when prudence and magnanimity were the necessary requisites to ensure the restoration of a broken Union. It is not surprising therefore, that Democrats, as well as Republicans, gave him their support, and secured his election. A few days thereafter, on the 22d of July, 1868, he took his seat in the Senate chamber. During the Fortieth Congress, he was a member of the Committee on Private Land Claims, and the Committee on Pensions. In the Forty-first Congress, he was a member of the Committee on Private Land Claims, the Committee on Education and Labor, and the Committee on Appropriations.

In person, Mr. Sawyer is about six feet in height, is compactly built, and has an organization indicative of well balanced muscular

and intellectual power. In manners he is easy and graceful. He possesses a keen insight of character, measures men at a glance, and estimates them for what they are worth without reference to their surroundings, and easily wins the good will of those whose friendship he desires. In social life few men are more agreeable. He is genial, witty, and even brilliant in conversation, and in general society is clever and impressive.

In the Senate Mr. Sawyer soon took rank among its best debaters. When he speaks, which is but seldom, his efforts are characterized by brevity and compactness. He is practical rather than eloquent, and though he indulges in no forensic display, he is strong, earnest, and effective. Self-poised, armed with facts, seeking by reason and logic to convince the understanding, and possessing keen critical acumen, he is always formidable either as a champion or an antagonist. Mr. Sawyer is an admirable type of that class of Americans, who, by reason of their integrity, talents, and industry, have been elevated to the most exalted positions in the councils of the nation.



John Sherman

JOHN SHERMAN.

N 1634, three Shermans—two brothers and a cousin—emigrated from Essex, England, to the infant colony of Massachusetts Bay. One of them settled in Connecticut, where his family remained and prospered for many years. A great-grandson of the emigrant, who had become a Judge of one of the Connecticut Courts, dying in 1815, his son, Charles Robert Sherman, himself a thoroughly educated lawyer, removed to Ohio, where he soon acquired an extensive practice, and in 1823 became one of the Judges of the Supreme Court. He married young, and had a family of eleven children. In 1829, he died suddenly of cholera, leaving his family in destitute circumstances. One of his sons was William Tecumseh Sherman, now General of the Army. The eighth child of the family was John Sherman, who was born in Lancaster, Ohio, May 10, 1823. He went steadily to school at Mount Vernon, Ohio, until he was fourteen years old. He was then sent to the Muskingum Improvement, to earn his own support, and to learn the business of a civil engineer, and was placed under the care of Colonel Samuel R. Curtis, the resident engineer of the work. He was thus employed for two years, in which he acquired the best part of his early education, in learning the methods and forms of business, and acquiring habits of industry and self-reliance. The election of 1838, which brought the Democratic party into power, was followed by the removal of Colonel Curtis from his position, and the consequent loss of employment by John Sherman.

His engineering apprenticeship closing thus abruptly, he commenced the study of law with his brother, Charles T. Sherman, now United States District Judge in Ohio, who was then engaged as a lawyer, in Mansfield, Ohio. The day after he was twenty-one years

old, he obtained a license to practice law, and immediately entered into a partnership with his brother, which lasted for eleven years. Entering at once upon an extensive practice, he soon obtained a wide reputation as a laborious, honest, and successful lawyer.

In politics, John Sherman took a profound interest, although, as an ardent Whig, in a strongly Democratic district, he had no hope of obtaining office. He was sent as a delegate to the Whig National Conventions of 1848 and 1852, and in the latter year was chosen a Presidential Elector.

When the Nebraska issue arose in 1854, he felt the necessity of combining all the elements of opposition against the further extension of Slavery, and earnestly labored to build up the political organization which soon developed into the Republican party. He accepted a nomination for Representative in Congress, from the Thirteenth Ohio District, and, to his surprise, was elected. He entered the House of Representatives of the Thirty-fourth Congress, fully equipped for useful and successful public service. Fluent in debate, patient of details, laborious in investigation, conciliatory in temper, and persistent in purpose, he entered at once upon a successful congressional career.

In the first session of the Thirty-fourth Congress, he served upon the Kansas Investigating Committee, and prepared the famous report which the Committee presented to the House of Representatives and to the country. This brought him at once into honorable prominence before the people. At the close of the session the Republican members of the House, through the influence of Mr. Sherman, adopted the amendment to the Army Bill, denying the validity of the slavery-extending laws of Congress. Had the Republican party stood upon that declaration as a platform, they would probably have carried the presidential election of 1856. Mr. Sherman wrote an address to the people of the United States, elaborating the principle contained in that declaration. Although it was agreed upon by the Republican members of the House, Mr. Seward and other Senators dissented, and the doctrine was not promulgated.

In the Thirty-fifth Congress, Mr. Sherman took an active part in

the heated contest over the Lecompton Constitution and the English Bill, and made many powerful speeches. He served as Chairman of the Naval Investigating Committee which made a most damaging exposure of the complicity of Buchanan and Toucey with the crimes of the slavery propagandists. He made an important speech upon the public expenditure, which was widely circulated as a campaign document.

At the opening of the Thirty-sixth Congress occurred the memorable contest for the Speakership, in which Mr. Sherman was the candidate of the Republicans. He had signed a recommendation of Helper's "Impending Crisis," and this was made the pretext by the Southern members for a violent opposition to his election. Through a long series of ballottings he lacked but one or two votes of an election. In order to secure an organization, his name was finally withdrawn, and Mr. Pennington was elected. Mr. Sherman was at once honored with the Chairmanship of the Committee of Ways and Means, by virtue of which he became leader of the House of Representatives. He distinguished himself as chairman of this committee by putting through the House the Morrill Tariff, a measure greatly promotive of material prosperity to the country.

In an important speech, delivered in reply to Pendleton, February, 1861, he displayed a statesmanlike perception of the result of the conflict to which the South was rushing with such arrogant confidence, predicting that slavery would be destroyed, and that the North would triumph.

Mr. Sherman was elected as a Representative to the Thirty-seventh Congress, but on the resignation of Mr. Chase, as a United States Senator, he was elected by the Legislature to a seat in the Senate. He was placed upon the most important committee of the Senate, that of Finance. He introduced the National Bank Bill, and had charge of that important measure, as well as of the Legal Tender Acts, on the floor and in the debates.

His labors were chiefly confined to finance and taxation—to providing money and maintaining credit to carry on the war. In January, 1863, he delivered a speech against the continuance of the

State Banking system, and one in favor of the National Banks, both of which were of decisive influence.

In the Thirty-ninth Congress he introduced a bill to fund the public indebtedness, which if passed, would have resulted in the saving of \$20,000,000 of interest per annum, the wider dissemination of the loan among the masses, and the removal of the debt from its present injurious competition with railroad, mercantile, manufacturing, and all the other vital interests of the country. Unfortunately for the public interests, the bill was mutilated in the Senate and defeated in the House.

In the second session of the Thirty-ninth Congress, Mr. Sherman proposed the substitute for the Reconstruction bill which finally became a law.

In the Fortieth Congress, Mr. Sherman was Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, and in this important position exerted a marked effect upon Congressional legislation. In the second session he reported a new bill for funding the National Debt, and converting the notes of the United States. He advocated this bill as a measure of just and wise public policy, in a speech of remarkable ability.

In person, Senator Sherman is tall and spare, with a large head, and countenance expressive of decision, firmness and self-control. He speaks smoothly and rapidly, making no effort at display, aiming only to produce conviction by clear statement of facts and arguments.



JOHN E. SPRUCE

John E. Spruce

JOHN E. SPRUCE

1825-1887

GEORGE E. SPENCER.



GEORGE E. SPENCER was born in the town of Champion, Jefferson County, New York, November 1, 1836, the youngest of four sons of the late Doctor Gordon P. Spencer, of Watertown, New York, who was a surgeon in the United States Army during the war of 1812. Doctor Spencer was born in Salisbury, Connecticut, from which State the Spencer family emigrated to New York, prominent among them being the Hon. John C. Spencer, and Ambrose Spencer, names familiar to the country in the record of statesmen and lawyers.

The subject of this sketch, after obtaining a liberal education at Montreal College, Canada, returned to his home in Watertown, New York, and entered upon the study of the law. But he was impatient of home restraints, and, having imbibed in early youth a longing for adventure, determined upon emigrating to the far west. He located in the State of Iowa, was admitted to the bar in 1857, and, entering actively the arena of politics as a Republican, was chosen secretary of the Iowa State Senate at its session of 1857-58.

At the breaking-out of the rebellion, Mr. Spencer was pioneering further westward, engaged in prospecting the mineral resources of Colorado and adjacent territory, a true type of the restless but determined spirit of American adventure, which has discovered and opened up the wealth of gold and silver that has enriched the nation and populated the wilderness. He entered the army of the Union as captain and assistant adjutant-general of volunteers, and served with distinction as chief of staff to Major-Gen. Grenville M. Dodge until 1863, when he recruited and raised the 1st Regiment of Alabama cavalry, composed of the loyal mountaineers of that State, and, as colonel, commanded a brigade of cavalry on Sherman's famous

"March to the Sea." He was breveted a brigadier-general for gallantry on the field, and, after the war, resumed the practice of the law at Decatur, Alabama, in the neighborhood of the homes of his old comrades of the 1st Alabama cavalry.

Mr. Spencer took prominent part in the reconstruction of Alabama, and was appointed a register in bankruptcy by Chief Justice Chase in May, 1867, and on the 21st of July, 1868, was elected a Senator in Congress for the term of six years.

Mr. Spencer is recognized in the Senate as an industrious and influential member. While possessing the elements of generosity and courtesy to an eminent degree, he battles for his principles and his friends, with commendable and unshaken zeal. An illustration of this is found in a speech delivered by him in the Senate, during the discussion of the labor question and the eight hour system, from which the following is a brief extract: "I have the honor, Mr. President, of representing upon this floor a large constituency who have heretofore been deprived by slavery of all benefit and reward of their own toil. For over two hundred years the institution of slavery has degraded the interests and respectability of labor in the South, affecting the poorer classes of whites equally with the blacks. Through much tribulation and bloodshed the shackles have been stricken from them, and for the first time in the history of our country its labor is now all free, and involuntary service no longer exists. Under the cruel laws of slavery, education was denied this people; they were kept in total obscurity and darkness, the effort being to repress rather than to encourage intelligence. From the first break of dawn they were forced to toil wearily, under the dispiriting lash of the overseer, with no other hope than to see the sun go down that they might have a brief surcease from the grinding oppression of their tasks. Their toil is now their own, consecrated to them by the best blood of free America; and it is a matter of deep concern to the country and to myself, that they shall receive the benefits of that freedom, not only in their labor, but in their education; as well in books as in their new relations as citizens of the Republic."



W Sprague

WILLIAM SPRAGUE.



WILLIAM SPRAGUE was born in Cranston, Rhode Island, September 11, 1830. He is a nephew of William Sprague, who was Governor of Rhode Island in 1838, and United States Senator in 1842. He received an academical education at Tarrytown, New York, and subsequently engaged in the calico print works founded by his father and uncle, in which he is now a partner. He engaged also in other branches of manufactures, became president of several banks, and a director of various insurance companies. In his eighteenth year he joined an artillery company in Providence, and became a colonel.

In 1860, he was nominated for Governor of Rhode Island by a portion of the Republican party, and elected, in consequence of a coalition between them and the Democrats. In February, 1861, foreseeing the outbreak of the civil war, he offered to the President and General Scott 1,000 men and a battery of artillery, and as soon as the call for troops was made, hastened to raise regiments, and went with them to the field. The commission of Brigadier-General of Volunteers was offered to him in May, but he refused it. He fought with the Rhode Island troops at Bull Run, and in several engagements of the Chickahominy campaign. He was chosen United States Senator for six years from March 4, 1863, and was re-elected for the term ending in 1875. A few years ago he married a daughter of Chief-Justice Chase.

In the Senate he served as Chairman of the Committee on Manufactures, a position for which he was fitted by his business-like habits and thorough understanding of commercial law.

In the Impeachment trial he voted the President guilty of high crimes and misdemeanors, as charged in the indictment. During

his first term in the Senate, he seldom spoke, but in March and April, 1869, he startled the Senate and the country by a series of remarkable speeches on national affairs. The first was on "The Financial Condition," and depicted ruin in store for the country unless it should pause in the "forced policy pursued since the close of the war." Two speeches on the Civil Tenure Act drew glowing pictures of the future of the country under "a government of lawyers and judges, educated in one line, practiced in one pursuit; educated upon the quarrels and the exhibitions of the worst passions of human nature; practiced in the dissensions, influenced by the vices of the people." Speeches on "The National Currency" and "The Tax Bill" presented the injurious effects upon the country of large accumulation of capital, illustrated by reference to prominent citizens of Rhode Island.

Mr. Sprague is somewhat slight in person—with a grave expression, and thoughtful attitude. Retiring and reticent, he has none of the qualities of the noisy demagogue. Although the richest man in Congress, he makes no personal ostentation of wealth. As a speaker he is slow and deliberate, uttering his convictions rather with the earnestness of the conversationalist rather than the art of an orator



W^m Stewart

WILLIAM M. STEWART.

 WILLIAM M. STEWART was born in Wayne County, New York, August 9th, 1827. When eight years old he removed with his father to Trumbull County, Ohio. He worked on a farm in summer, and attended school in winter, until thirteen years old, when he left home with the consent of his parents and worked at farming for various persons, at six, eight, and twelve dollars a month, until 1844. In the Spring of that year he drove a herd of cattle to Pennsylvania, and visited Philadelphia, the first large city he had seen. He thought of going to sea, and went on board the receiving ship with a view to getting into the Navy. While on board he saw a boy badly treated, and thinking the situation not congenial to him, he started back to Ohio.

In the summer of 1845, he taught school in Hampden, Ohio, and subsequently attended an academy at Farmington. He then returned to his native county in New York, where he taught school, and prosecuted his studies, making especial proficiency in Mathematics. He entered Yale College in 1848, remaining there until the winter of 1850, when he started for California, and arrived there by way of the Isthmus in the following April. He worked two years at mining with varied success. He ran for Sheriff of Nevada County in the Spring of 1851, but there being several opposing candidates, who made a combination, he was defeated by a few votes. Soon after he commenced the study of law, and in the fall of 1852 was admitted to the bar, and appointed District-Attorney on the same day. The next year he was elected to the same office by the Democratic party. In 1854, the Attorney-General of California left the State on leave of absence for six months, and Mr. Stewart was appointed in his place. He subsequently went to San Francisco

and formed a law partnership with Ex-Governor Henry S. Foote of Mississippi, and Judge Aldrich, which continued about two years. In the fall of 1855 he married a daughter of Governor Foote, and went back to Nevada, where he remained practicing law until 1857. He then went to Downieville, where there was a great deal of litigation growing out of mining disputes. He got the lead of the practice, and received very heavy fees. In the spring of 1860 he went to the Territory of Utah—now Nevada—where he was employed by the first locators of the Comstock Lode to manage their heavy litigations.

When the Legislature was organized, he was in the Territorial Council. He took an active part in organizing the Union party, and in 1863 he was a member of the Constitutional Convention. On the admission of Nevada into the Union, he was elected to the United States Senate, and was admitted to his seat February 1st, 1865. His term closing in 1869, he was re-elected for the term ending in 1875.

Upon his entrance into the Senate, he was appointed to the important Committees on the Judiciary, Public Lands, Pacific Railroad, and Mines and Mining. Of the last-named committee he was in the Forty-first Congress appointed chairman.

He took a prominent part in the important discussions of the Thirty-ninth and Fortieth Congresses. In February, 1866, he made a speech, occupying parts of two days in its delivery, in which he maintained the right of the loyal people in the recent rebel States to be represented in Congress. On the 24th of May, 1866, he made a speech, of three hours' duration, on a pending Constitutional Amendment, in which he advocated "pardon for the rebels, and the ballot for the blacks." He stood in the Fortieth Congress among the firm opponents of President Johnson's policy. He is a ready and effective off-hand debater, never thrown off his guard, and never losing his good humor.



Engraved by E. P. Clark

Charles Sumner

CHARLES SUMNER.

HE ancestors of Charles Sumner were among the early emigrants to New England. His father's cousin, Increase Sumner, was one of the early governors of the State of Massachusetts, and was regarded as a worthy successor of Hancock and Adams. The father of Charles Sumner was a successful lawyer, and for many years held the office of High Sheriff of the County of Suffolk.

Charles Sumner was born in Boston, January 6th, 1811. Having received a preparatory training in the Boston Latin School, and the Phillips Academy, he became a student in Harvard College, where he graduated in 1830. He subsequently entered the Cambridge Law School, where he pursued his studies three years under the direction of Judge Story, with whom he formed an intimate and lasting friendship.

In 1836 he was admitted to the bar, and rose rapidly in his profession. He was appointed Reporter of the Circuit Court of the United States; and, while holding this office, published three volumes of decisions, known as "Sumner's Reports." At the same time he edited the "American Jurist," a law paper of high reputation.

During three winters following his admission to the bar, Mr. Sumner lectured to the students of the Cambridge Law School. Then, as in after life, his favorite subjects were those relating to constitutional law and the law of nations. In 1836 he was offered a professorship in the Law School, and in Harvard College, both of which he declined.

In 1837 he visited Europe, where he remained till 1840, traveling

in Italy, Germany, and France, and residing a year in England. His time was improved in adding to his previous literary and legal attainments an extensive knowledge of the languages and literature of modern Europe.

After three years spent abroad, Mr. Sumner returned to his native city, and resumed the practice of law. In addition to his professional duties, he was occupied from 1844 to 1846 in editing and publishing an elaborately annotated edition of "Vesey's Reports," in twenty volumes.

Mr. Sumner was recognized as belonging to the Whig party, yet for several years after his return from Europe he took but little part in politics. He made his first appearance on the political stage on the 4th of July, 1845, when he pronounced an oration before the municipal authorities of Boston on "The True Grandeur of Nations." This utterance was made in view of the aspect of affairs which portended war between the United States and Mexico. This oration attracted great attention, and was widely circulated both in Europe and America. Cobden pronounced it "the most noble contribution made by any modern writer to the cause of peace."

At a popular meeting in Fanueil Hall, November 4, 1845, Mr. Sumner made an eloquent and able argument in opposition to the annexation of Texas, on the ground of slavery. In the following year he delivered an address before the Whig State Convention of Massachusetts on "The Anti-Slavery Duties of the Whig Party." In this address, Mr. Sumner avowed himself the uncompromising enemy of slavery. He announced his purpose to pursue his opposition to that great evil, under the Constitution, which he maintained was an instrument designed to secure liberty and equal rights. Provisions in the Constitution conferring privileges on slaveholders were compromises with what the framers of that instrument expected would prove but a temporary thing.

In 1846 Mr. Sumner addressed a public letter to Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, who then represented Boston in Congress, rebuking him for his vote in favor of war with Mexico. In this letter the Mexican

war was characterized as an unjust, dishonorable, and cowardly attack on a sister republic, having its origin in a purpose to promote the extension of slavery.

The position of Mr. Sumner was too far in advance of the Whig party to admit of his remaining in full fellowship. In 1848 he sundered his old political ties, and aided in the organization of the Free Soil party, whose platform was composed of principles which he had distinctively announced in his public addresses. Van Buren and Adams, candidates of the new party, were earnestly supported by Mr. Sumner in the Presidential contest of 1848.

The passage of the Fugitive Slave Act tended to obliterate old party lines and overshadow former political issues. A vacancy in the United States Senate occurring by the accession of Daniel Webster to the cabinet of Mr. Fillmore, the duty of electing his successor devolved upon the Legislature of Massachusetts. By a coalition of Free-Soilers and Democrats in the Legislature, Mr. Sumner was nominated for the office, and was elected after an earnest and protracted contest. The result was regarded as a signal triumph of the anti-slavery party.

In the Senate of the United States, Mr. Sumner's first important speech was against the Fugitive Slave Law. He then announced his great political formula, "Freedom is national, and slavery sectional," which furnished the clue to his subsequent career. He argued that Congress had no power, under the Constitution, to legislate for the rendition of fugitive slaves, and that the act was not only in conflict with the Constitution, but was cruel and tyrannical.

The great debate on the Missouri Compromise and the contest in Kansas elicited all of Mr. Sumner's powers of eloquence and argument. His great speech, published under the title of "The Crime against Kansas," occupied two days in its delivery. Southern Senators and Representatives were greatly incensed by this speech, and it was determined to meet argument by blows. Two days after the delivery of the speech, Preston S. Brooks, a Representative from South Carolina, assaulted Mr. Sumner while writing at his desk in

the Senate Chamber. Mr. Sumner, unarmed and powerless behind his desk, was beaten on the head until he fell insensible on the floor. A Committee of the House of Representatives reported in favor of Brooks's expulsion. The resolution then reported received a little less than the two-thirds vote necessary to its adoption. Mr. Brooks, however, resigned his seat, pleaded guilty before the court at Washington upon an indictment for assault, and was sentenced to a fine of three hundred dollars. Having returned to his constituents to receive their verdict on his conduct, he was re-elected to Congress by a unanimous vote. A few days after resuming his seat in Congress, he died suddenly of acute inflammation of the throat.

On the other hand, Mr. Sumner did not fail to receive the endorsement of his constituents. In the following January, while still disabled with his wounds, he was re-elected by an almost unanimous vote, in a Legislature consisting of several hundred members. In the spring of 1857 he went to Europe, by the advice of his physicians, to seek a restoration of his health, and returned in the following autumn to resume his seat in the Senate. His health being still impaired, he again went abroad in May, 1858, and submitted to a course of medical treatment of extraordinary severity. After an absence of eighteen months, he returned in the autumn of 1859, with health restored, again to enter upon his Senatorial duties.

It was highly appropriate that the first serious effort of Mr. Sumner, after his return to the Senate, should be a delineation of "The Barbarism of Slavery." In an elaborate and eloquent speech, which was published under that title, he denounced slavery in its influence on character, society, and civilization.

In the Presidential contest of 1860, which resulted in the election of Abraham Lincoln, Mr. Sumner took an active part, and was gratified in seeing the signal triumph of principles which he had long maintained. On the secession of the rebel States, he earnestly opposed all compromise with slavery as a means of restoring the Union. He early proposed and advocated emancipation as the speediest mode of bringing the war to a close.

In March, 1861, he entered upon the responsible position of Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations. In this position he has rendered great service to the country by his vigilant attention to our interests as affected by our relations with European powers. His influence has always been exerted to promote peace and mutual understanding. On the 9th of January, 1862, he delivered an elaborate speech, arguing that the seizure of Mason and Slidell, on board the steamer *Trent*, was unjustifiable on the principles of international law which had always been maintained by the United States.

In March, 1863, Mr. Sumner entered upon his third Senatorial term. He advocated with zeal and eloquence all the great Congressional measures which promoted the successful prosecution of the war. The Constitutional Amendment abolishing slavery, which was the great act of the Thirty-Eighth Congress, was a triumph of the principles long advocated by Mr. Sumner, and forms a crowning glory of his statesmanship.

On the first day of the Thirty-Ninth Congress Mr. Sumner introduced a bill looking to the reconstruction of the rebel States under a Republican form of government, and a measure to confer suffrage on the colored people of the District of Columbia.

He took the high ground that it was the right and duty of Congress, under the Constitution, to guarantee impartial suffrage in all the States. He was bold and eloquent in advocating the securing, by Congressional enactment, of equal civil and political rights to all men without regard to color.

He earnestly opposed the reconstruction policy of President Johnson, and shuddered to see his disposition to leave the freedmen in the hands of their late masters. On the 20th of December, 1865, Mr. Sumner denounced the President's "attempt to white wash the unhappy condition of the rebel States, and throw the mantle of official oblivion over sickening and heart-rending outrages where human rights are sacrificed, and rebel barbarism receives a new letter of license."

From first to last Mr. Sumner was one of the boldest of the opponents of President Johnson's usurpations. In the great trial of Impeachment he voted to convict the President, and sustained his verdict in the case by a learned and able opinion concerning the law and the evidence.

Amid all his official and public labors, Mr. Sumner has been constant in his devotion to literature. He published in 1850 two volumes of "Orations;" in 1853, a work on "White Slavery in the Barbary States;" and in 1856, a volume of "Speeches and Addresses." Some of his recent speeches in the Senate are as exhaustive in their treatment of their subjects, as elaborate in finish, as abundant in facts, and as copious in details, as ordinary volumes. Such, for example, is the great speech in the Senate on "The Cession of Russian America to the United States," in which the geography, history, and resources of our newly acquired territory are set forth more accurately and fully than in any accessible treatise on the subject.

Mr. Sumner is tall and robust in person. He has regular features, which bear the impress of thought and culture. His head is surmounted by an abundance of black hair, which is but slightly tinged with gray. As a speaker he is solemn and impressive in his manner, graceful in gesticulation, and deliberate in utterance. The varied stores of learning are so much at his command that he draws upon them with a frequency which sometimes brings upon him a charge of pedantry. By many he is regarded as too theoretical and too little practical for a successful statesman. It is his happiness, however, to have lived to see many of his theories, once unpopular, adopted as the practical principles of the most powerful party in the nation.



John M. Thayer
John M. Thayer

JOHN M. THAYER.



JOHN MILTON THAYER was born in Bellingham, Massachusetts, January 24, 1820. He graduated at Brown University, and studied law. In 1854, he emigrated to Nebraska, and settled there simultaneously with the organization of the Territory, selecting Omaha as the place of his residence.

Indian difficulties shortly after occurring, the Governor organized the militia, and appointed Mr. Thayer Brigadier-General, and gave him the command of the force. The Legislature, at its ensuing session, created the office of Major-General, and elected him as the incumbent. He was frequently selected to go as Commissioner to the Indians, for the purpose of stopping their hostilities, and, on several occasions, commanded expeditions against them.

From his youth, Mr. Thayer was imbued with the spirit of Anti-Slavery, and hence he early espoused the principles and course of the Republican party. In 1859, he was elected a member of the Convention for framing a State Constitution. Though an ardent Republican, he received this election from a county strongly Democratic—having the highest vote on the ticket.

In 1860, Mr. Thayer was elected to the higher branch of the Territorial Legislature. On the breaking out of the Rebellion, he applied immediately to the War Department for authority to raise a regiment of volunteers, and was instrumental in rallying the First Nebraska Infantry. Of this Regiment he was made Colonel, and served with it in Missouri during the first six months of the War. His regiment, with others, was selected by General Halleck to proceed to Fort Henry. On reaching that place, General Grant assigned to Colonel Thayer command of all the reinforcements which were

arriving, and sent him down the Tennessee, and up the Cumberland, to Fort Donelson, while General Grant himself marched across by land. Colonel Thayer was then placed in command of the Second Brigade in General Lew Wallace's Division, and was engaged in the hardest of the fighting on the last day of the battle.

At the battle of Shiloh, Colonel Thayer had command of the extreme right, and for good conduct received the strong commendations of his commanders, and was made Brigadier-General.

A prominent share in the great struggles of the War seems to have fallen to General Thayer. He led one of the storming columns at Chickesau Bayou; his horse was shot under him at Arkansas Post; he was through all the seige of Vicksburg, and was at the first and second capture of Jackson, Mississippi. He was afterward placed in command of the "Army of the Frontier," and with it participated in the battles of Prairie de Ann, Jenkin's Ferry, and other engagements. He was made a Brevet Major-General for "distinguished services."

On returning to his State, after the close of the War, General Thayer was elected a United States Senator for the term expiring in 1871.

Mr. Thayer belongs to that class of legislators who, while not given to much speaking, are yet prompt and ready to speak whenever necessity or the public service requires it. From his long residence near the frontier, and the varied intercourse he has had with the Indian tribes, probably no member of the Senate possesses a more extensive knowledge of matters pertaining to these savage people than General Thayer. Hence his speeches bearing upon the Indian question have a special interest for those less familiar than himself with their sentiments and character. We are impressed, as we read and ponder these speeches, that though brief and unpretending, they are, however, the words of a man who knows whereof he affirms, and testifies of that which he has seen. "Mr. President," he says, in one of these addresses, "I rise simply to correct two misapprehensions of the Senator from Maine, [Mr. Morrill,] into which he has been led. He

asks, where is there an Indian reservation which is not invaded to-day by the white people? Well, I respond to him by stating that there are five Indian reservations within the State of Nebraska, between which and the whites there has been the most perfect accord and friendship for the seven years past, not the slightest interference or collision between the Indians upon these reservations and the white settlers. That is my answer to his interrogatory. These troubles do not arise with the friendly Indians, but with the hostile Indians, who are away beyond Nebraska and Kansas, upon the plains, whose lands have not been invaded by the whites. Those who have committed these outrages and these murders are not the Indians whose lands have been interfered with by the whites. They are those who have come from their own section of the country down to the two Pacific Railroads, and there is where they are creating the difficulty. It is simply a question between civilization and barbarism. They are opposed to those two Pacific Railroads, and that is, after all, the real cause of the trouble."

In another speech, several days afterward, on the same general subject, Mr. Thayer remarked as follows:

"The Indians are opposed to the building of these two Roads (Pacific Railroads). There is no mistake about it. I have heard it from them myself. The reason they object is, that it cuts in two their buffalo range. The buffalo range, in certain seasons of the year, extends from away north of Nebraska down toward the Red River, and they think the Road will interfere with that. One Indian chief expressed his objection in this way: 'We do not object to the horse going through our country that goes so,' imitating in his manner the galloping of a horse; 'but,' he added, 'we do object to the horse that goes so,' imitating the noise of a steam-engine. That was his expressive way of giving utterance to his objection.

"The difficulty is, that the Indians do not like these Roads; and, hence, I have favored this bill, which proposes to open these two lines of road by taking the Indians away, and putting them on reservations to the north and to the south. * * *

When the Senate was preparing to proceed with the Impeachment Trial, Mr. Hendricks objected to Mr. Wade's being sworn, on the ground that being "interested, in view of his possible connection with the office, in the result of the proceedings, he was not competent to sit as a member of the court." Mr. Thayer spoke in answer to this objection, and from his remarks on the occasion, we make the following extract:

"I challenge the honorable Senator from Indiana to point me to one iota in the Constitution which recognizes the right of this body to deprive any individual Senator of his vote. No matter what opinions we may entertain as to the propriety of the honorable Senator from Ohio casting a vote on this question, he is here as a Senator, and you cannot take away his right to vote except by a gross usurpation of power. He is here as a Senator in the possession and exercise of every right of a Senator until you expel him by a vote of two-thirds of this body. Then he ceases to have those rights, and not till then. * * * In courts of law, if objections are made to any one sitting upon a jury, and he is excluded, an officer is sent out into the streets and the highways to pick up talesmen and bring them in to fill up the jury. Can you do that here? Suppose you exclude the honorable Senator from Ohio, can you send an officer of this Senate out into the lobbies or into the streets of Washington to bring in a man to take his place? By no means. I need not state that.

"Thus I come back to the proposition that we are a Senate, composed of constituent members, two from every State, sworn to do our duty as Senators of the United States; and when you attempt to exclude a Senator from the performance of that duty, you assume functions which are not known in the Constitution, and cannot for a moment be recognized. When you attempt to exercise the power, and do exercise it, are you any longer the Senate of the United States? The Senate, no other parties or bodies forming any part of it, is the only body known to the Constitution of the United States for this purpose, and the Senate is composed of two Senators from each State."

THOMAS W. TIPTON.

 HOMAS W. TIPTON was born at Cadiz, Ohio, August 8, 1817, and spent his early life on a farm. He graduated at Madison College, Pennsylvania, in 1840. He entered the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church, but subsequently changed his views of ecclesiastical polity, and became a Congregationalist. He studied law, and was admitted to the bar. In 1845 he was a member of the Ohio Legislature, and subsequently for three years was in Washington at the head of a division in the General Land Office. He then removed to Nebraska, where, in 1860, he was a member of the Territorial Council, and was chosen a delegate to the Convention to frame a State Constitution. On the breaking out of the rebellion he was chosen chaplain of the First Regiment of Nebraska Infantry, and served in that capacity during the war. On the admission of Nebraska into the Union he was elected a Senator in Congress from the new State, and drew the short term, ending in 1869. He was subsequently re-elected for the term ending in 1875.

During the Fortieth Congress, Mr. Tipton was a member of the Committee on Public Lands and the Committee on Pensions. He introduced a bill, which became a law, extending to the State of Nebraska the provisions of an act relating to agricultural colleges, a bill for the suppression of Indian hostilities, and several bills for the promotion of railroads in the West. He addressed the Senate in opposition to a resolution presenting the thanks of Congress to George Peabody. In remarks on the supplementary Reconstruction bill, he took the ground that "the loyal minority of these States should control the destiny of these States," and subsequently in an elaborate speech, February 10, 1868, pronounced emphatically in favor of negro suffrage in the South. He briefly presented important reasons against the abolition of the franking privilege.

LYMAN TRUMBULL.



YMAN TRUMBULL was born in Colchester, Connecticut, October 12th, 1813. He was educated at Bacon Academy, in his native town, which in those times was one of the best institutions of learning in New England. In his sixteenth year he became a teacher in a district school; and at twenty years of age went to Georgia, taking charge of an Academy at Greenville in that State. While engaged in teaching, he employed his leisure time in studying law with a view to preparing himself for the legal profession.

Having been admitted to practice at the bar in Georgia, in 1837 he removed to Illinois and settled in Belleville, St. Clair County. In 1840, he was elected a Representative in the State Legislature from that county; and before he had served out his term, he was, in 1841, appointed Secretary of State of Illinois. After serving in this office for two years, he returned to his profession, and gained an eminence therein second to no other lawyer in the State. In 1848, he was nominated and elected one of the Justices of the State Supreme Court, and, in 1852, was re-elected for nine years. As a Judge on the bench he distinguished himself by great acuteness of discrimination, accuracy of judgment, and familiarity with organic and statute laws. He resigned his place on the bench in 1853, and in the succeeding year was elected to represent the Belleville District, then embracing a wide extent of territory, in Congress; but before taking his seat in the House, the Legislature elected him to the Senate of the United States for the term of six years from March 4, 1855.

During the great political contests which attended the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law and the organization of the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska, Mr. Trumbull, both at home and in the halls



L. Trumbull

HON. LYMAN TRUMBULL.

SENATOR FROM ILLINOIS.

of Congress, took a bold stand against the policy and doctrines of the old Democratic party, with which he had been actively identified, and espoused the cause of freedom, of which he became one of the strongest of champions. He opposed his colleague, Mr. Douglas, in all questions having reference to slavery, and especially in his celebrated "popular sovereignty" plan of settling that question in the Territories and future States. With such distinguished ability did he contest this question with Mr. Douglas and his friends, that he at once gained a national reputation.

In 1860, he earnestly and ably advocated the election of Abraham Lincoln, his fellow-citizen and friend, to the Presidency. During the early part of the next year, just previous to Mr. Lincoln's inauguration, and when the war of the rebellion had already virtually commenced, Mr. Trumbull was one of the leaders of the Union party in the Senate, and favored prompt and decided measures for the maintenance of the Union. In 1861, Mr. Trumbull was re-elected for a second term, and in 1867 for a third term in the Senate of the United States.

As Chairman of the Judiciary Committee of the Senate, a position which he has held uninterruptedly since 1861, he framed and advocated some of the most important acts which were passed by Congress during and since the war. He was one of the first to propose the amendment of the Constitution abolishing Slavery in the United States, which proposition passed Congress, and was ratified by the requisite votes of two-thirds of the States.

He ably advocated the acts establishing and enlarging the Freedman's Bureau, and eloquently championed the Civil Rights Bill. He voted for the acquittal of President Johnson on the Articles of Impeachment.

Senator Trumbull continued his residence at Belleville until 1849, when he removed to Alton, and subsequently, in 1863, to Chicago, where he now resides. He is of medium stature, with a cast of countenance which marks the man of thought. Lacking the warmth of temperament calculated to win personal friendship, he possesses talents which command universal respect.

PETER G. VANWINKLE.

ETER G. VANWINKLE was born in the city of New York, September 7, 1808. He received an academical education, and entered on the study of law. In 1835 he emigrated to what is now West Virginia, and settled in Parkersburg, where he engaged in law practice, in which he continued till 1852. He then became treasurer and afterwards president of a railroad company. He was a member of the Virginia State Constitutional Convention of 1850, and in 1861 was a member of the Wheeling Convention, assembled to frame a Constitution for the proposed new State of West Virginia. He was a member of the Legislature of the new State in 1863, and in December, of the same year, was elected to the Senate of the United States.

Mr. Vanwinkle, as a Senator in the Fortieth Congress, served on the Committee on Post-offices and Post-roads, and as chairman of the Committee on Pensions. Although seldom participating in the debates of the Senate he was an active and able member of that body. He several times addressed the Senate pending the consideration of the Tax bill, and the Ohio River Bridge bill. Many of his statements in these speeches are of much interest, and evince that their author had given diligent attention to the subject which he was discussing. Several of his addresses, in presenting various claims for pensions, as chairman of the committee on that subject, give evidence of ability and sound discretion. In the Impeachment trial, Mr. Vanwinkle voted to acquit President Johnson, presenting, in a brief but elaborate opinion on the case, his reasons for not regarding the offenses charged in the various articles as crimes or misdemeanors. His Senatorial term ended March, 1869, when he retired from political and public life.

GEORGE VICKERS.



GEORGE VICKERS was born in Chestertown, Kent County, Maryland, November 19, 1801. After receiving an academical education, he was employed in the County Clerk's office, studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1832. He was a member of the Maryland Electoral College in 1836, and was a delegate to the Whig National Convention which assembled in Baltimore in 1852. He declined the appointment of judge tendered him by Governors Hicks and Bradford, but accepted that of major-general of militia offered him by the former in 1861. He was a presidential elector on the McClellan ticket in 1864, and was a member of the Maryland Senate in 1866 and 1867. He was elected a United States Senator from Maryland, and took his seat March 11, 1868. The impeachment trial of President Johnson commenced two days afterwards, and the new Senator watched its progress with intense interest. He viewed the transaction as strictly judicial, and in giving his vote of acquittal he presented a written opinion in which he argued the question solely as a legal one. His first speech was made June 8, 1868, on the bill for the admission of North Carolina, South Carolina, Louisiana, Georgia, Florida, and Alabama to representation. He contended that negroes could not properly be associated with the whites in the State or National government, and invoked the Senate to deal kindly with the Southern people who had endured so much suffering during the war. Subsequently he spoke against the power of the general government to incorporate railroad companies in the States; against the proposed Suffrage Amendment to the Constitution; against the admission of Senator Revels because he had not been a citizen of the United States nine years, as required by the Constitution, and against the admission of Senator Ames on the ground that he had not acquired a legal residence in Mississippi, and that his election was by moral coercion of the Legislature.

BENJAMIN F. WADE.

PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE.

N Feeding Hills Parish, Massachusetts, on the 27th of October, 1800, was born Benjamin F. Wade, the youngest of ten children. His father was a soldier of the Revolution, and fought in every battle from Bunker Hill to Yorktown. His mother was the daughter of a Presbyterian clergyman, and was a woman of vigorous intellect and great force of character.

The family was one of the poorest in New England. They had, however, among their scanty property a few books, which eventually came into Benjamin's possession. He never enjoyed more than seven days' schooling, yet under the tuition of his mother he soon learned to read and write. He read and re-read the few books of the family library, and as a boy became better informed than most of his age.

He was for a time employed as a farm hand on very meagre wages. When eighteen years old, thinking he might find something better in the West, with a bundle of clothing on his back, and seven dollars in his pocket, he started on foot for Illinois. He walked as far as Ashtabula County, Ohio, when a fall of snow having impeded his progress, he determined to wait for spring to finish his journey. He hired out to cut wood in the forest at fifty cents per cord. He spent his evenings reading the Bible by the light of the fire on the hearth of the log cabin, and in a single winter read through both Old and New Testaments.

When spring came, he was persuaded to further suspend his journey to Illinois, by engaging in a summer's work at chopping, logging, and grubbing. This was followed by a winter at school-teaching. After two years of such employment, he engaged in driving herds of



Engraved from a Photograph

J. B. G. Wade

Editor of the *Pennsylvanian*

100 Broad Street, Philadelphia.

cattle from Ohio to New York. He thus made six trips, the last one leaving him in Albany, New York. Here he taught a winter school, and in the spring hired himself to shovel on the Erie Canal, in which employment he spent the summer—"The only American I know," said Governor Seward, in a speech in the Senate, "who worked with a spade and wheel-barrow on that great improvement."

Having occupied the summer in work on the canal, he taught school another winter in Ohio. In the following spring he commenced the study of law with Hon. Elisha Whittlesey. He was soon after elected a justice of the peace. After two years he was admitted to the bar. He waited another year for his first suit, and from that time his success was steady. He was elected Prosecuting Attorney for Ashtabula County, a position of great advantage to a young man just rising in his profession.

But Mr. Wade's destined field was politics. He was elected to the State Senate, where he took the lead of the Whig minority. He aided in abolishing the law for imprisonment for debt. He inaugurated a war against the "Black Laws" of Ohio. He took a bold stand against the admission of Texas into the Union. "So help me, God!" he declared, "I will never assist in adding another rod of slave territory to this country."

Mr. Wade having attempted to bring about a repeal of the State laws that oppressed the negroes and gave security to slavery in the neighboring States, incurred the displeasure of his party friends, who left him at home at the next election.

Time and events having at length brought the people up to Wade's position, they again sent him to the Senate against his will. There he procured the passage of a bill which founded the Oberlin College, "for the education of persons without regard to race or color." He led the resistance of Ohio to the resolution adopted by Congress, denying the people the right to petition concerning the abolition of slavery. He labored to bring the Legislature and the State up to the support of John Quincy Adams in his fight for the sacred right of petition.

In 1847, Mr. Wade was elected President Judge of the Third Judicial District. After the session of his court was over for the day, Judge Wade sometimes went to the neighboring school-houses and made speeches in favor of General Taylor, then a candidate for the Presidency. Since Wade was known far and near as a strong anti-slavery man, it was thought strange that he did not support Mr. Van Buren, the candidate of the Liberty party. Some of his friends remonstrated with him for supporting Taylor, a slaveholder. "Taylor is a good old Whig," he replied, "and I am not going to stand by and see him crucified between two such thieves as Cass and Van Buren." For four years he occupied the bench, and obtained with the bar and the people the reputation of a wise and just judge.

In March, 1851, as he was hearing a cause in court, the firing of a cannon in the streets of Akron announced to the public that Mr. Wade had been elected United States Senator by the Legislature of Ohio. The office had not been sought for by him, nor canvassed for by his friends. The arrangements of politicians and the selfishness of aspirants were over-ruled by the people in their desire to have one who would represent the manhood, the conscience, the *progress* of the State.

When Mr. Wade entered the Senate, he found but few opposed to the aggressions of slavery. In 1856, when the great Kansas controversy came up, the advocates of slavery were thirty-two against thirteen in favor of freedom. Wade showed himself brave against all odds and every influence. "I come before the Senate to-day," said he, "as a Republican, or, as some prefer to call me, a Black Republican, for I do not object to the term. I care nothing about the name; I come here especially as the advocate of liberty, instead of slavery."

Mr. Wade has continued a member of the United States Senate, by successive re-election, for eighteen years. His Senatorial career has been marked by indomitable energy, unfailing courage, and invariable consistency. It has been marked by some acts which cannot fail to cause his name to be remembered. He reported from

the Committee on Territories the first provision prohibiting slavery in all the Territories of the United States to be henceforth acquired. He proposed in the Senate the bill for Negro Suffrage in the District of Columbia.

It was in the days when Republicans in Congress were few, and the champions of Slavery were dominant in the councils of the Republic, that Mr. Wade rendered services for the struggling cause of liberty that are never to be forgotten. He met the arrogant leaders of the South with a bravery that secured their respect, and gained friends for his cause. Toombs, the fierce fire-eater of Georgia, once said in the Senate, "My friend from Ohio puts the matter squarely. He is always honest, outspoken, and straightforward; and I wish to God the rest of you would imitate him. He speaks out like a man. He says what is the difference, and it is. He means what he says; you don't. He and I can agree about everything on earth except our sable population."

It was the custom in those days for Northern Senators to yield submissively to the insolence of the slaveholders. Mr. Wade had too much nerve and independence meekly to accept the situation. Soon after he took his seat, a Southerner in debate grossly insulted a Free State Senator. As no allusion was made to himself or his State, Wade sat still; but when the Senate adjourned, he said openly, if ever a Southern Senator made such an attack on him or Ohio while he sat on that floor, he would brand him as a liar. This coming to the ears of the Southern men, a Senator took occasion to pointedly speak, a few days afterward, of Ohio and her people as negro thieves. Instantly Mr. Wade sprang to his feet and pronounced the Senator a liar. The Southern Senators were astounded, and gathered round their champion; while the Northern men grouped about Wade. A feeler was put out from the Southern side, looking to retraction; but Mr. Wade retorted in his peculiar style, and demanded an apology for the insult offered himself and the people he represented. The matter thus closed, and a fight was looked upon as certain. The next day a gentleman called on the Senator from Ohio,

and asked the usual question touching his acknowledgment of the code.

"I am here," he responded, "in a double capacity. I represent the State of Ohio, and I represent Ben. Wade. As a Senator, I am opposed to dueling. As Ben. Wade, I recognize the code."

"My friend feels aggrieved," said the gentleman, "at what you said in the Senate yesterday, and will ask for an apology or satisfaction."

"I was somewhat embarrassed," continued Senator Wade, "by my position yesterday, as I have some respect for the Chamber. I now take this opportunity to say what I then thought; and you will, if you please, repeat it. Your friend is a foul-mouthed old blackguard."

"Certainly, Senator Wade, you do not wish me to convey such a message as that?"

"Most undoubtedly I do; and will tell you, for your own benefit, this friend of yours will never notice it. I will not be asked for either retraction, explanation, or a fight."

Next morning Mr. Wade came into the Senate, and proceeding to his seat, deliberately drew from under his coat two large pistols, and, unlocking his desk, laid them inside. The Southern men looked on in silence, while the Northern members enjoyed the fire-eaters' surprise at the proceeding of the plucky Ohio Senator. No further notice was taken of the affair of the day before. Wade was not challenged, but ever afterward was treated with politeness and consideration by the Senator who had so insultingly attacked him.

Mr. Wade's fierce retorts sometimes fell with terrible effect upon his adversaries. When he was speaking against the Kansas-Nebraska bill, Mr. Douglas interrupted him with an inquiry designed at once to rebuke and embarrass him: "You, Sir, continually compliment Southern men who support this bill, but bitterly denounce Northern men who support it. Why is this? You say it is a moral wrong; you say it is a crime. If that be so, is it not as much a crime for a Southern man to support it, as for a Northern man to do so?"

Mr. WADE.—“No, sir, I say not!”

Mr. DOUGLAS.—“The Senator says not. Then he entertains a different code of morals from myself and—”

Mr. WADE (breaking in, and pointing at Douglas with extended arm and forefinger, his face wrinkling with scorn, and contempt and rage flashing out of his eyes)—“*Your* code of morals! *YOUR* *morals!* My God, I hope so, sir!”

A witness of the scene says that the “Giant” was hit in the forehead, and, after standing for a moment, his cheeks as red as scarlet, he sank silent into his chair.

Mr. Wade gained enduring fame by the unanswerable reasoning, the powerful oratory, and the undaunted courage with which he resisted the extension of slavery against the united might of the propagandists of the South and North.

Near the close of the Thirty-ninth Congress, Mr. Wade was elected President *pro tempore* of the Senate. He was chosen to that office at a time when it seemed probable that his election would soon become an elevation to the Presidential Chair by virtue of the impeachment and removal of Mr. Johnson. The narrowness of Mr. Johnson’s escape, and the nearness of Mr. Wade’s approach to the Presidency, are among the most curious scenes in recent history.

As an orator, Senator Wade has little polish, but great force, directness, and effect. He is an original thinker, and has much learning for one whose advantages were so few. His manners are plain and unaffected, his tastes are simple as in his humbler years. At home, in Ohio, he lives in a style undistinguished from the substantial citizens about him. His residence is a plain white frame house, hid among the trees and surrounded by ample grounds.

“There is,” says one, “a Puritan grimness in his face, which melts into sweetness and tenderness when his sympathies are touched, and which is softened away by the humor which wells from his mirthfulness in broad, rich, and original streams.”

WILLARD WARNER.



WILLARD WARNER was born in Granville, Ohio, September 4, 1826, and graduated at Marietta College, Ohio, in 1845. He entered the Union army, as Major of the 76th Ohio Volunteer Infantry, in 1861. During the Atlanta campaign he served on General Sherman's staff as Assistant Inspector-General. In October, 1864, he was appointed Colonel of the 180th Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and was brevetted Brigadier and Major-General for meritorious services. He was subsequently elected to the Ohio Senate, in which he served two years. Having removed to Alabama, he was in July, 1868, elected as a Senator in Congress from that State for the remainder of a term ending in 1871, and was admitted to his seat July 25, 1868. He took an active part, for one so recently admitted, frequently addressing the Senate on important subjects, especially those relating to the Southern States. In February, 1869, he spoke on the 15th Amendment, maintaining that the question was not merely one of negro suffrage. He said:

“In our action is bound up the welfare of the present and the coming millions of our country, and correlated with it are the interests of all the sons of men. Let us, then, approach our task solemnly and gravely, having in view not only the interests of our present population, but also the well-being of the multitudes who press on our track with remorseless tread.” * * *

“The irresistible drift of modern civilization is toward a larger and larger enfranchisement of the people, and our end is a pure democracy. Let us proceed to it with firm and decisive steps. Then we will have no disfranchised, disaffected, clamoring classes, always ready and ripe for tumult, rebellion, and revolution. Then the will of the people, legally and peacefully expressed, will have a weight and a power which will command and insure universal acquiescence and obedience.”

ADONIJAH S. WELCH.

 DONIJAH S. WELCH was born in the State of Connecticut, in 1821. He graduated at the University of Michigan, and afterwards became one of its professors. He was for fifteen years at the head of the Normal School of Michigan. Soon after the breaking out of the rebellion he entered the Union army, in which he served until the close of the war. He subsequently settled in Florida, and gave efficient aid in the Reconstruction of that State. He was elected a Senator of the United States from Florida, and took his seat July 2, 1868, for the term ending March 3, 1869. February 8, 1869, he delivered in the Senate a brief but logical and forcible argument in favor of the Suffrage Amendment, in which he said of the Southern negro: "Intellectually and socially below the dominant class, but equal, at least, to the poorer class of southern whites, he is, if we except the southern loyalists, who are limited in number, infinitely superior to them all as a patriot; and I weigh my words well when I say that if his ignorance were as rayless as the darkest midnight, if he never had a dozen thoughts in all his life and never changed their course, his steady, unflinching love of this Union would render him a far safer depositary of the right of suffrage than he who has compassed all knowledge and all science, and hates his country."

In a brief speech on the Civil Appropriation bill, March 2, 1869, he protested against "a distinction being made between male and female clerks, as to the value of labor," and on the same day ably maintained the value and importance of the Department of Education. At the close of his term in the Senate, Mr. Welch accepted the presidency of the Iowa State Agricultural College.

WILLIAM PINCKNEY WHYTE.



WILLIAM PINCKNEY WHYTE was born in Baltimore, Maryland, August 9, 1824. He was educated by a private tutor, and spent nine months in the counting-room of George Peabody. He graduated at the Harvard Law School in 1845, was admitted to the bar, and practised in his native city. In 1847 he was elected to the Legislature of Maryland. In 1851 he was a Democratic candidate for Congress, and was defeated by 119 votes. He was elected comptroller of the State of Maryland in 1853. He was again a candidate for Congress in 1857, and contested the seat before the House, which decided against him by a vote of 100 to 105. He was appointed United States Senator from Maryland in the place of Reverdy Johnson, resigned, and took his seat July 14, 1868, for the term which ended March 4, 1869. Mr. Whyte's first speech in the Senate was made on the occasion of the reading of President Johnson's last annual message. The Secretary of the Senate having read a small part of the message, Mr. Conness moved that its further reading be dispensed with as a "tirade against the Congress of the United States," and "in all respects an offensive document." Mr. Whyte opposed the motion, and urged upon the Senate the duty of giving "respectful attention to the views and sentiments of those who may differ with regard to the manner in which the Government should be conducted." He opposed a resolution disapproving and condemning the proposition in the President's message relating to the public debt, and said that although he concurred in no proposition to repudiate the public debt or to abate it, he should not enter into a clamor against the President of the United States because he entertained sentiments different from his own.



Engraving by J. C. Smith

W. J. Milley

1811-1874

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WAITMAN T. WILLEY.



WAITMAN T. WILLEY was born in the county of Mongalia, Virginia, October 18, 1811. His birthplace was a "log cabin, just twenty feet square."

As soon as the little boy could well walk, he was put to work upon the farm until he was twelve years old—receiving, meanwhile, eight or ten months of schooling in a country school-house. From twelve to sixteen years of age—with the exception of tuition at a grammar school for two months—he continued at hard work upon his father's farm, at the end of which time he went to Madison College. He was distinguished in college by industry as a student, and success as a scholar, and at the end of his four years' course was graduated with the highest honors of his class, and was pronounced by the trustees of the institution as "well entitled to that honor."

In the following year, Mr. Willey—being yet under twenty-one years of age—commenced the study of law at Wellsbury, Virginia. He was admitted to the bar in 1833. As a lawyer he was successful, and soon secured a good and reputable practice. In 1840, he was a candidate for the State legislature. He was also on the Whig electoral ticket, and made forty speeches in behalf of his candidate. In 1841, in one and the same month, he was made Clerk of Mongalia County Court and of the Supreme Court. In 1850, he was elected a member of the Convention for re-forming the constitution of Virginia. In this Convention, Mr. Willey sustained a very prominent part. His speeches, which were somewhat numerous, were of decided ability, and were highly complimented, even by those whose views differed from his own. "He is," writes one of these, "a man of fine attainments, extensive reading, and high moral

character; a bold thinker, an energetic and earnest speaker.” His speech in this Convention, in favor of representation based upon suffrage, was deemed the best that was delivered on that side of this important question. In concluding this great speech, having alluded in glowing terms to the progress of popular liberty in the world, he adds this noble peroration:

“ And yet, in the midst of all this, in the middle of the nineteenth century, beneath the noontide effulgence of this great principle of popular supremacy, a voice is heard in old Virginia, rising from almost the spot where the clarion voice of Henry awoke a nation to freedom, when he exclaimed, ‘ Give me liberty or give me death’—even here, where we should take off our shoes, for the earth on which we walk is holy—bearing in its consecrated bosom the remains of George Mason and Thomas Jefferson, the one the author of the Declaration of Independence, the other of the Virginia Bill of Rights—even here, a demand is made by honorable gentlemen to give superior political power to the property-holder, and virtually invest goods and chattels with the prerogative of legislating upon the rights and liberties of a vast majority of the people of this Commonwealth! I trust this can never take place.”

In 1852, Mr. Willey was a Whig candidate for Congress, with no expectation of election, but to bring out a full Whig vote for General Scott.

At the State Convention of the Whig party, February 10, 1858, Mr. Willey was nominated as a candidate for Lieutenant-Governor. Alluding to this nomination, the Richmond *Whig* represented Mr. Willey as “one of the ablest and most eloquent men in Virginia,” and “universally esteemed and popular.” The Baltimore *Patriot* added: “A stronger name has never been presented to the freemen of Virginia. The name of Waitman T. Willey is a household word throughout the entire Northwest. A distinguished lawyer, with a reputation without a stain, his name upon the ticket secures at least five thousand votes that might have been considered doubtful.”

In the canvass, Mr. Willey addressed the people daily until the

election, and was everywhere acknowledged as a statesman, a patriot, an honest man, and an exemplary Christian. In the election he carried his own county, although his ticket ran behind.

In 1860, Mr. Willey, as might be expected, was exerting himself continually for the Union, and to strengthen the union sentiment of the State. In January, he published a long article for distribution on the general subject of disunion and secession. "Why, therefore," he writes, "should we madly rush into the perils of disunion? Our country was never more thrifty and prosperous, and what but the national Union secured to us all this happiness and prosperity? I shudder whenever I think of disunion. It does appear to me that some of our leaders, like the incendiary Erostratus, are aspiring after the infamous immortality which must eternally be attached to the names of the destroyers of the fairest fabric of national government ever devised by man, or bestowed on him by heaven."

In the winter of 1860-61, Mr. Willey was elected to a seat in the Richmond Convention, which resulted in the secession of Virginia. Referring to this Convention, he writes: "If the journal and proceedings of that body ever come to light, they will show how faithfully I resisted that terrible disaster."

In July, 1861, he was elected by the reorganized legislature of Virginia, sitting at Wheeling, to the United States Senate, and took his seat in that body during the special session of Congress then in progress. Also, in the fall of this year, he was a member of the Constitutional Convention assembled at Wheeling, to ordain a constitution for the proposed new State of West Virginia.

The attitude of Mr. Willey in the United States Senate, at this most trying crisis, was eminently just, enlightened, and patriotic, and worthy of Virginia in its wiser and better days.

"We may, with equal confidence," said he, "challenge a more minute examination of the policy and administration of the General Government affecting the States in rebellion. And here I do but allege what the records of the country will amply attest, when I say that in the bestowment of official patronage and emolument and posi-

tion in every branch of the Government, the South has ever enjoyed an eminently liberal proportion of favor. The journals and acts of Congress will verify the assertion that every important measure of national policy has either originated with Southern statesmen, or has been made, sooner or later, essentially to conform to the demands of Southern sentiment. This is a broad assertion, but it is true. The South has always exercised a controlling influence in the councils of the Republic. She has had more than an equal share of Presidents; she has had more than a fair proportion of appointments in the Cabinet; the Supreme Court has been adorned with a full quota of her eminent jurists; the *corps diplomatique* has had no just cause of complaint for the want of representatives from south of Mason and Dixon's line; and the glorious annals of our army and navy attest on every page the valor and skill of Southern chieftains."

After unfolding the Southern conspiracy, he said: "Sir, truth will ere long strip these conspirators naked before the world, and the people whom they have so cruelly misled will rise up and curse them. History—impartial history—will arraign and condemn them to universal contempt. It will hold them responsible before man and God for the direful consequences already brought upon the country, and for the evils yet to come—for the desolations of war, its pillage and rapine, and blood, and carnage, and crime, and widowhood, and orphanage, and all its sorrows and disasters."

Mr. Willey, then and always, insisted upon the impossibility of dismemberment. "Sir," said he, "this Union cannot be dissolved. Nature and providence forbid it. Our rivers, and lakes, mountains, and the whole geographical conformation of the country rebuke the treason that would sever them. Our diversities of climate and soil and staple production do but make each section necessary to the other. Science and art have annihilated distance, and brought the whole family of States into close propinquity and constant and easy intercourse. We are one people in language, in law, in religion, and destiny. 'Whom God hath joined together, let no man put asunder.' The past is glorious; the future shall be sublime."

Mr. Willey, at the same session of the Senate, in an able and appropriate speech, gave a full and minute history of the new State matter, on the application of West Virginia for admission into the Union as a State. He met every objection, satisfied every reasonable doubt, and secured an early, favorable, and unanimous report from the committee, its triumphant and speedy passage through the Senate, and eventually through the House, until it received the sanction of the President.

The new State having been admitted, Mr. Willey in August, 1863, was elected one of the United States Senators from West Virginia. He drew the short term of two years, before the expiration of which he was re-elected for the term ending in 1871.

Thus far we have contemplated Mr. Willey in scarcely more than a single phase of his character, while to pause here would leave this sketch but half completed. Not only has he sustained an eminent reputation as a lawyer and statesman, but he has all along stood before the public as a Christian and a philanthropist. The very beginning of his professional life demonstrates the transparent integrity of his character. At thirty years of age, he writes :

“ I was poor when I started ; I am comparatively poor still. I was honest when I started, and, thank God, I am honest still. I would not give the consciousness of honesty and integrity for all the honors of ill-gotten gain.” Elsewhere he adds, on occasion of somewhat straitened circumstances : “ Poverty is far more desirable than ill-gotten wealth. I will live honest, if I die poor. I will live an honorable man, if I die in obscurity. I would not exchange the approbation of a good conscience for the hoards of Croesus. I would not relinquish the pleasure and exalted happiness of conscious integrity for the crown of an emperor.”

Mr. Willey is an active member of the Methodist Church, and his church connection seems early to have been with him a matter of gratulation and thanksgiving ; while his religious experience, so far as it has been apparent to the eye of strangers, bears the marks of deep sincerity and genuineness. In 1853, we find him delivering a

series of lectures on the "Spirit and Progress" of that branch of the church of which he is a member; wherein, among other things, he discusses the importance of an earnest faith in connection with the performance of Christian duty. Alluding to these lectures, the public prints alleged, and doubtless with much truth, that "he would fill a pulpit with no ordinary ability."

The cause of Temperance has ever held a warm place in the affections of Mr. Willey. He was early a member of various associations, here and there, for the promotion of this great enterprise. In 1853, he was, by the Grand Division of the Sons of Temperance of West Virginia, elected their lecturer on "Temperance and Legal Prohibition."

We find him also deeply interested in Sabbath-schools, and he is himself a Sabbath-school teacher. So likewise has the great missionary enterprise always enlisted his sympathies, commended itself to his judgment, and called forth his eloquence. Thus, he is not one of those lights that are hid under a bushel. At Washington, Mr. Willey has preserved his consistency. He has been here the friend of temperance, missions, the Sabbath-school, and every good work. The *National Intelligencer* says of him: "He devotes his hours of leisure from legislative duties in furtherance of good objects here. His late speech at the Foundry Church on Sunday afternoon on Sabbath-schools, will not soon fade from the mind of any one present on the occasion."

More effective still seems to have been an address, delivered at Philadelphia, on a missionary occasion, when, in the course of his speech, he read various extracts from the highest authorities, illustrating the elevating power of the Gospel upon heathen nations. He further insisted that it was the best civilizing agency that was ever employed—that Magna Charta was not found at Runnymede, nor the Declaration of Independence at Philadelphia; but that both of these immortal documents were traceable to the Bible.



Großherzog

ALBERT WILHELM

1828-1875

GEORGE H. WILLIAMS.



GEORGE H. WILLIAMS was born in Columbia County, New York, March 23, 1823. He received an academical education in Onondaga County, and studied law. He was admitted to the bar in 1844, and immediately emigrated to Iowa. In 1847 he was elected Judge of the First Judicial District of Iowa, and in 1852 he was a presidential elector. In 1852 he received from President Pierce the appointment of Chief-Justice of the Territory of Oregon, and was re-appointed by President Buchanan in 1857, but resigned. He was a member of the Convention which formed a Constitution for the State of Oregon.

When Oregon was under the absolute control of the Democratic party, Judge Williams declared himself a Republican, and did much to promote the ultimate triumph of that party in his State. In 1864 he was elected a United States Senator from Oregon for the term ending in 1871. He at once took an active part in the important legislation of the Thirty-ninth Congress. On the first day of the second session of this Congress he brought before the Senate a bill to "regulate the tenure of offices," which was referred to a committee, and subsequently, with modifications, passed over the President's veto. On the 4th of February, 1867, Mr. Williams introduced "A bill to provide for the more efficient government of the insurrectionary States," which was referred to the Committee on Reconstruction. It was subsequently reported and passed as the "Military Reconstruction Act." He has served with much ability on the Committee on the Judiciary, and as Chairman of the Committee on Private Land Claims.

As a Speaker Mr. Williams is deliberate, logical, and impressive. He is a wise, comprehensive, and practical statesman, having a large and increasing influence in the Senate.

HENRY WILSON.

HENRY WILSON was born at Farmington, N. H., February 16, 1812, of poor parentage. He was early apprenticed to a farmer in his native town, with whom he continued eleven years, during which period his school privileges, at different intervals, amounted to about one year. He early formed a taste for reading, which he eagerly indulged on Sundays and evenings by fire-light and moon-light. Thus, in the course of his eleven years' apprenticeship, he read about 1,000 volumes—mainly of history and biography.

On coming of age, young Wilson left Farmington, and with all his possessions packed upon his back, walked to Natick, Mass., and hired himself to a shoemaker. Having learned the trade, and labored nearly three years, he returned to New Hampshire for the purpose of securing an education. His educational career, however, was suddenly arrested by the insolvency of the man to whom he had entrusted his money, and in 1838 he returned to Natick to resume his trade of shoemaking.

Wilson was now twenty-six years of age, and up to this period his life had been mainly devoted to labor. It was in allusion to this that when, in 1858, he replied on the floor of Congress to the famous “mudsill” speech of Gov. Hammond of South Carolina, he gave utterance to these eloquent words:

“Sir, I am the son of a hireling manual laborer, who, with the frosts of seventy winters on his brow, ‘lives by daily labor.’ I, too, have ‘lived by daily labor.’ I, too, have been a ‘hireling manual laborer.’ Poverty cast its dark and chilling shadow over the home of



Henry Wilson

BY HENRY WADDELL

ILLUSTRATED BY J. R. GREEN

my childhood ; and want was sometimes there—an unbidden guest. At the age of ten years—to aid him who gave me being in keeping the gaunt specter from the hearth of the mother who bore me—I left the home of my boyhood, and went forth to earn my bread by ‘daily labor.’”

From his youth, Mr. Wilson seems to have been deeply and permanently imbued with the spirit of hostility to Slavery, and few men have dealt more numerous or heavy blows against the institution. His political career commenced in 1840. During this year he made upwards of sixty speeches in behalf of the election of Gen. Harrison. In the succeeding five years, he was three times elected a Representative, and twice a Senator, to the Massachusetts legislature. Here his stern opposition to Slavery was at once apparent, and in 1845 he was selected, with the poet Whittier, to bear to Washington the great anti-slavery petition of Massachusetts against the annexation of Texas. In the same year he introduced in the legislature a resolution declaring the unalterable hostility of Massachusetts to the further extension and longer continuance of Slavery in America, and her fixed determination to use all constitutional and lawful means for its extinction. His speech on this occasion was pronounced by the leading anti-slavery journals to be the fullest and most comprehensive on the Slavery question that had yet been made in any legislative body in the country. The resolution was adopted by a large majority.

Mr. Wilson was a delegate to the Whig National Convention of 1848, and on the rejection of the anti-slavery resolutions presented to that body, he withdrew from it, and was prominent in the organization of the Free Soil party. In the following year he was chosen chairman of the Free Soil State Committee of Massachusetts—a post which he filled during four years. In 1850 he was again a member of the State legislature ; and in 1851 and 1852 was a member of the Senate, and president of that body. He was also president of the Free Soil National Convention at Pittsburg in 1852, and chairman of the National Committee. He was the Free Soil candidate for Congress in 1852. In 1853 and 1854 he was an unsuccessful candidate

for Governor of Massachusetts. In 1853 he was an active and influential member of the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention. In 1855, was elected to the United States Senate to fill the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of Mr. Everett.

Mr. Wilson took his seat in the Senate in February, 1855, and, by a vote nearly unanimous, has been twice re-elected to that office. As a Senator, he has been uniformly active, earnest, faithful, prominent, and influential,—invariably evincing an inflexible and fearless opposition to Slavery and the slave-power. In his very first speech, made a few days after entering the Senate, he announced for himself and his anti-slavery friends their uncompromising position. “We mean, sir,” said he, “to place in the councils of the Nation men who, in the words of Jefferson, have sworn on the altar of God eternal hostility to every kind of oppression over the mind and body of men.” This was the key-note of Mr. Wilson’s career in the Senate from that day to this.

In the spring of 1856 occurred the assault upon Mr. Sumner by Preston S. Brooks of South Carolina. Mr. Wilson—whose fearlessness is equal to his firmness and consistency—denounced this act as “brutal, murderous, and cowardly.” These words, uttered on the floor of the Senate, drew forth a challenge from Mr. Brooks, which was declined by Wilson in terms so just, dignified, and manly, as to secure the warm approval of all good and right-minded people.

At the commencement of the rebellion, the Senate assigned to Mr. Wilson the Chairmanship of the Military Committee. In view of his protracted experience as a member of this committee, joined with his great energy and industry, probably no man in the Senate was more completely qualified for this most important post. In this committee originated most of the legislation for raising, organizing, and governing the armies, while thousands of nominations of officers of all grades were referred to it. The labors of Mr. Wilson, as chairman of the committee, were immense. Important legislation affecting the armies, and the thousands of nominations, could not but excite the liveliest interest of officers and their friends; and they

ever freely visited him, consulted with, and wrote to him. Private soldiers, too, ever felt at liberty to visit him, or write to him concerning their affairs. Thousands did so, and so promptly did he attend to their needs that they called him the "Soldier's Friend."

As clearly as any man in the country, Mr. Wilson, at the commencement of the rebellion, discerned the reality and magnitude of the impending conflict. Hence, at the fall of Fort Sumter, when President Lincoln issued a call for 75,000 men, the clear-sighted Senator advised that the call should be for 300,000; and immediately induced the Secretary of War to double the number of regiments assigned to Massachusetts. In the prompt forwarding of these troops Mr. Wilson was specially active. Throughout that spring, and until the meeting of Congress, July 4th, he was constantly occupying himself at Washington, aiding the soldiers, working in the hospitals, and preparing the necessary military measures to be presented to the national legislature.

Congress assembled; and, on the second day of the session, Mr. Wilson introduced several important bills relating to the military wants of the country, one of which was a bill authorizing the employment of 500,000 volunteers for three years. Subsequently Mr. Wilson introduced another bill authorizing the President to accept 500,000 volunteers additional to those already ordered to be employed. During this extra session, Mr. Wilson, as Chairman of the Military Committee, introduced other measures of great importance relating to the appointment of army officers, the purchase of arms and munitions of war, and increasing the pay of private soldiers,—all of which measures were enacted. In fact, such was his activity and efficiency in presenting and urging forward plans for increasing and organizing the armies necessary to put down the rebellion, that General Scott declared of Mr. Wilson that he "had done more work in that short session than all the chairmen of the military committees had done for the last twenty years."

After the defeat at Bull Run, Mr. Wilson was earnestly solicited by Mr. Cameron, Mr. Seward, and Mr. Chase, to raise a regiment of in-

fantry, a company of sharp-shooters, and a battery of artillery. Accordingly, returning to Massachusetts, he issued a stirring appeal to the young men of the State, addressed several public meetings, and in forty days he succeeded in rallying 2,300 men. He was commissioned colonel of the Twenty-second Regiment, and with his regiment, a company of sharp-shooters, and the third battery of artillery, he returned to Washington as colonel; and afterwards, as aid on the staff of General McClellan, Mr. Wilson served until the beginning of the following year, when pressing duties in Congress forced him to resign his military commission.

Returning to his seat in the Senate, Mr. Wilson originated and carried through several measures of great importance to the interests of the army and the country. Among these was the passage of bills relating to courts-martial, allotment certificates, army-signal department, sutlers and their duties, the army medical department, encouragement of enlistments, making free the wives and children of colored soldiers, a uniform system of army ambulances, increasing still further the pay of soldiers, establishing a national military and naval asylum for totally disabled officers and men of the volunteer forces, encouraging the employment of disabled and discharged soldiers, securing to colored soldiers equality of pay, and other wise and judicious provisions.

Invariably true and constant in his sympathies for the down-trodden and oppressed, Mr. Wilson never once forgot the slave, for whose freedom and elevation he had consecrated his time and energies for more than a quarter of a century. He actively participated in the measures culminating in the anti-slavery amendment to the Constitution. He introduced the bill abolishing Slavery in the District of Columbia, by which more than three thousand slaves were made free, and Slavery made for ever impossible in the capital of the Nation. He introduced a provision, which became a law, May 21, 1862, "providing that persons of color in the District of Columbia should be subject to the same laws to which white persons were subject; that they should be tried for offenses against the laws in the same manner

as white persons were tried ; and, if convicted, be liable to the same penalty, and no other, as would be inflicted upon white persons for the same crime." He introduced the amendment to the Militia Bill of 1795, which made negroes a part of the militia, and providing for the freedom of all such men of color as should be called into the service of the United States, as well as the freedom of their mothers, wives, and children. This, with one or two other measures of a kindred character, introduced by Mr. Wilson, and urged forward through much and persistent opposition, resulted in the freedom of nearly 100,000 slaves in Kentucky alone.

After the close of the war, Mr. Wilson was no less active and influential in procuring legislation for the suitable reduction of the army than he had been in originating measures for its creation. Making an extended tour through the Southern States, he delivered numerous able and instructive addresses on political and national topics.

He was among the first to declare himself in favor of General Grant as the Republican candidate for the Presidency. After the nomination, Mr. Wilson entered with great zeal into the canvass, and made some of the ablest speeches of the campaign.

Amid the pressure of public duties, Mr. Wilson has found time for literary pursuits. He is the author of a "History of the Anti-Slavery Measures of the Thirty-seventh and Thirty-eighth Congresses," and "History of the Reconstruction Measures of the Thirty-ninth Congress."

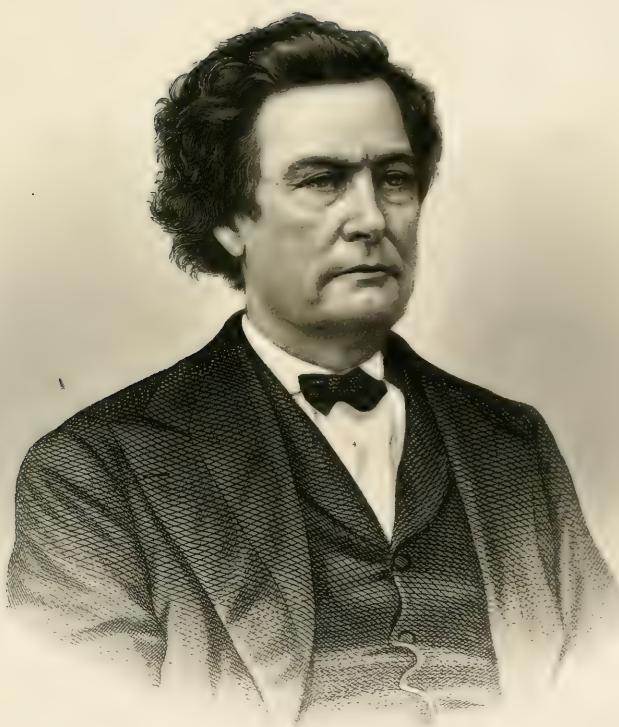
In his personal character Mr. Wilson is without reproach. He possesses purity as stainless as when he entered politics, and integrity as unimpeachable as when first elected to office. He is one of the most practical of statesmen, and one of the most skillful of legislative tacticians. His *forte* as a Senator is hard work—the simple and efficient means by which he has arisen from humble origin to his present high position.

RICHARD YATES.

OME who were not soldiers in the field, became conspicuous for their talents and patriotism amid the emergencies of the recent civil war. Prominent among these was Richard Yates of Illinois. He was born in Warsaw, Gallatin County, Kentucky, in 1818. In 1831 he removed with his father to Illinois, and settled in Springfield. He studied for one year in Miami University, Ohio, and subsequently entered Illinois College, where he graduated in 1838, the first graduate in any Western college. He subsequently studied law with Colonel John J. Hardin, who fell at the head of his regiment in the battle of Buena Vista. Having been admitted to the bar, Mr. Yates settled in the beautiful city of Jacksonville, Illinois, which has since been his home. In 1842 he was elected to the State Legislature, and served until 1850.

In 1850 he was nominated by a Whig Convention as a candidate for Congress, and was elected. In March, 1851, he took his seat in the House of Representatives, the youngest member of that body. A change was soon after made in his district, which, it was supposed, would secure a majority to the opposite party, yet he was re-elected over Mr. John Calhoun, a popular Democratic leader.

The district represented by Mr. Yates included the early home of Senator Douglas, where he had taught school, and commenced the practice of law. When Mr. Douglas became the author and champion of "Squatter Sovereignty" as applied to the territories of Kansas and Nebraska, his old friends warmly espoused the doctrine, partly through local pride and personal attachment to its author. The consequence was that, in 1854, Mr. Yates, who had opposed the "Nebraska Bill," was defeated as a candidate for re-election to Congress.



Rich. Yates.

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He subsequently devoted himself for several years to the practice of his profession and to the duties of president of a railroad. This interval of private life is looked back upon by himself and his friends as the happiest and most prosperous period of his career. Living in the midst of a community the most moral and intellectual of any in the West, surrounded by a young and interesting family to whose happiness he was devoted, and by whom he was ardently beloved, he passed a few years, which were the happiest of his life.

His family and near personal friends were reluctant to have Mr. Yates enter again upon political life, but his patriotic impulses and his ambition to mingle in more stirring scenes, induced him to accept the nomination for Governor of Illinois in 1860. He had long been a devoted personal and political friend of Mr. Lincoln, and most gladly threw the power of his eloquence and the weight of his influence to promote his elevation to the presidential chair. As both the leading candidates for the presidency were citizens of Illinois, the contest in that State was especially interesting and exciting. The result, however, could not be doubtful, and Richard Yates was inaugurated as Governor of Illinois at Springfield a few weeks before Abraham Lincoln took the oath of office in Washington.

The inaugural address of Governor Yates was a most eloquent protest against the gigantic treason of South Carolina and other seceding States. Freshly crowned with the suffrages of a great State, his voice was heard throughout the Union as a truthful utterance of the people of the Northwest. "On the question of the Union of these States," said he, "all our people will be a unit. The foot of the traitor has never yet blasted the green sward of Illinois. All the running waters of the Northwest are waters of freedom and Union, and come what will, as they glide to the great Gulf, they will ever, by the ordinance of '87 and by the higher ordinance of Almighty God, bear only free men and free trade upon their bosoms, or their channels will be filled with the comingled blood of traitors, cowards, and slaves!"

The rebellion soon assumed proportions more immense, and the

eloquent utterances of Governor Yates were put to a practical test. On the 15th of April, 1861, the Secretary of War issued an order requiring the Governor of Illinois to contribute six regiments to make up the force of 75,000 men called out by the President's first proclamation.

On the day the Governor received the call of the War Department, he issued a proclamation for a special session of the Legislature to provide the sinews of war.

Within ten days after the proclamation of Governor Yates was published, more than ten thousand men had offered their services. The work of enlistment still went on, and disappointment was everywhere expressed that the services of more men could not be accepted.

Cairo being a point of great strategic importance, situated at the confluence of the Ohio and Mississippi, and commanding both rivers, it was deemed important that it should at once be possessed and fortified by a Federal force. On the 19th of April Governor Yates ordered General Swift, of the State Militia, to take possession of Cairo. Forty-eight hours after the reception of this order, that officer left Chicago with four six-pounders and 495 men. On the morning of the 23d this force took possession of Cairo, which proved a most valuable military position during the war. It was fortunate for the country that this movement was made so promptly. A brief delay might have enabled the enemy to carry out their cherished purpose of waging the war upon Northern soil.

The Ohio and Mississippi Rivers were then thronged with steam-boats engaged in the "Southern trade," and laden to the water's edge with Cincinnati dry goods, Northern produce, and Galena lead. The occupation of Cairo enabled Governor Yates to do a service to the Union by stopping this "aid and comfort" to the rebellion. The Governor having received information that the steamers *C. E. Hillman* and *John D. Perry* were about to leave St. Louis with military stores, he inaugurated the blockade of the Mississippi by telegraphing to Colonel Prentiss, commanding at Cairo, "Stop said boats, and seize all arms and munitions." The command was promptly and

successfully obeyed, and all the strength which the commerce of the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers would have given to the rebel cause was at once cut off.

The War Department required but six regiments of soldiers from Illinois, and two hundred companies were ready and eager to be accepted. Governor Yates urged and finally secured the acceptance of four additional regiments. The disasters of the summer of 1861 aroused the General Government to a sense of the real danger of the country, and the necessity of a large army for putting down the rebellion.

Illinois had nobly responded to the enlarged demands. By the close of 1861 Governor Yates had sent to the field more than forty-three thousand men, and had in camps of instruction seventeen thousand more.

President Lincoln having on the 6th of July, 1862, called for three hundred thousand additional volunteers, Governor Yates replied: "Illinois, already alive with beat of drum and the tramp of new recruits, will respond to your call."

To the honor of Illinois it is to be recorded, that in the busiest season of the year, only eleven days were required to enlist more than fifty thousand men for the service of the country.

When the time arrived for the election of members for the General Assembly for 1863-4, there were at least one hundred thousand voters of Illinois absent from the State, in the service of the country. The consequence was the election of a Legislature with a majority opposed to the war for putting down the rebellion. It was in vain that the Governor recommended measures calculated to sustain and reinforce the soldiers of Illinois already in the field; in vain that he pleaded the necessity of providing and appropriating means for sustaining the financial and military credit of the State. The Legislature was not possessed of the patriotic impulses which moved the Governor and those who had responded to his call. Their time was wasted in unprofitable attention to other interests than those of the country in the great emergency which was upon her.

In June, 1863, a disagreement having occurred between the two houses as to the time of final adjournment, the Governor, in the exercise of a power placed in his hands by the constitution, prorogued the General Assembly to the 31st of December, 1864, the day when its existence would terminate by law.

The people approved this brave and patriotic movement of their Governor, and in the following year elected a Legislature in sympathy with the country, and in harmony with the soldiers who were fighting her battles.

This Legislature elected Richard Yates to the Senate of the United States—a suitable reward to one whose ability and patriotism had contributed so largely to the honor of Illinois. During his administration a peaceful agricultural State, with scarcely a professional soldier within her limits, had grown to be one of the mightiest military commonwealths in history. Her army of two hundred and fifty thousand men, raised during the administration of Governor Yates, from the farms and shops of Illinois, was unsurpassed in effectiveness and valor. It was partly owing to the pride which the Governor took in the advancement of the soldiers of his State that so many of them had risen to high and distinguished rank as officers of the army. With honest pride the Governor said in his final message: "In response to calls for troops the State stands pre-eminently in the lead among her loyal sisters, and every click of the telegraph heralds the perseverance of Illinois generals and the indomitable courage and bravery of Illinois sons in every engagement of the war. The history of the war is brilliant with recitations of the skill and powers of our general, field, staff, and line officers. The list of promotions from the field and staff officers of our regiments to lieutenant and major-generals for gallant conduct and the pre-requisites for efficient and successful command, compare brilliantly with the names supplied by all other States; and the patient, vigilant, and tenacious record made by our veteran regiments in the camp, on the march, and in the field, is made a subject of praise by the whole country, and will be the theme for poets and historians of all lands for all time."

Mr. Yates took his seat in the Senate of the United States on the 4th of March, 1865, in time to aid in the complete restoration of the Union he had elsewhere assisted to save.

He immediately took rank among the foremost of those who have been denominated "Radicals." He announced himself as standing upon the broad principle "that all citizens, without distinction of race, color, or condition, should be protected in the enjoyment and exercise of all their civil and political rights." His faith in the final triumph of this principle was unwavering. On the 14th of February, 1866, Mr. Yates pronounced a speech of three hours' duration on a proposed Constitutional Amendment changing the basis of representation. "It is too late," he eloquently said on that occasion, "it is too late to change the tide of human progress."

Mr. Yates is one of the most popular orators of the country. Impelled by a warm humanitarianism and glowing imagination, he passes rapidly by dry technicalities and abstract theories to those grand and glowing deductions which the patriot delights to contemplate. He possesses a melodious voice, a graceful manner, with a ready and even rapid utterance. In person he is of medium height, with a face which in his early years possessed a beauty quite uncommon among men of mark.

GEORGE M. ADAMS.



GEORGE M. ADAMS was born in Knox County, Kentucky, December 20, 1837. He was educated at Centre College, Danville, Kentucky, studied law, and was clerk of the Circuit Court of Knox County from 1859 to 1861. In August, 1861, he raised a company for service in the war, and entered the Union army as captain in the 7th Kentucky Volunteers. He was soon after appointed additional paymaster of volunteers, and served in that capacity until the close of the war. In May, 1867, he was elected a Representative from Kentucky to the Fortieth Congress, as a Democrat, and took his seat July 8. He was appointed to serve on the Committees on the Militia and Freedmen's Affairs. Two days after his admission he presented the protests of his colleagues against the action of the House by which their credentials were referred to the Committee on Elections. November 25, he addressed the House in favor of admitting Mr. Golladay to his seat. As a member of the Committee on Freedmen's Affairs he sturdily opposed the bill to continue the bureau for the relief of freedmen and refugees. In a speech on this subject, March 17, 1868, he said: "This country, under its present financial embarrassments, is not able to continue in existence a bureau for the support and maintenance of any class of its people, and more especially for the support and education, as proposed by the bill, of this class of roving vagabonds called freedmen, whose only idea of freedom is that it confers upon them the right to be idle, and whose destitution is the result of their own indolence." He subsequently proposed, as an amendment to the bill, that "said bureau shall be immediately withdrawn and discontinued in all the States now represented in Congress, and shall be discontinued in the remaining States, as soon as they shall be restored to their former political relations with the Government of the United States."



Webb Allison

WILLIAM B. ALLISON.



WILLIAM B. ALLISON was born in Perry, Wayne County, Ohio, March 2, 1829. Most of his boyhood was spent upon a farm. He was educated at Alleghany College, Pennsylvania, and at Western Reserve College, Ohio. He then entered on the study of law, and was admitted to practice in 1851. He continued the practice of law in Ohio until 1857, when he removed to Dubuque, Iowa. He was a delegate in the Chicago Convention of 1860; and, in 1861, he was a member of the Governor's staff, rendering essential service in raising troops for the war.

In 1862, Mr. Allison was elected from Iowa a Representative to the Thirty-eight Congress, and re-elected to the Thirty-ninth, Fortieth, and Forty-first Congresses. He has served on the Committee on Public Lands, Roads and Canals, also on Ways and Means, Mines and Mining, and Expenses in the Interior Department.

The Congressional records show Mr. Allison to be vigilant and faithful in his duties in the House. His speeches evince sobriety and care, at the same time that they display ability and fearlessness in the advocacy of his views.

Mr. Allison's speech, June 4, 1868, on the "Internal Tax Bill," while it evinces much ability, presents facts and statements of special interest to the country at large. The following extracts are selected in illustration :

"Mr. Chairman, I fear we must resort to something more perfect if we would check the frauds on the revenue which exist in this country to-day. I beg leave to differ with gentlemen on this side of the House as to the cause of these great frauds. I do not attribute their

commission to the division of responsibility. The Commissioner of Internal Revenue is a bureau officer under the Secretary of the Treasury. The Secretary of the Treasury is to-day the responsible head of the Department, charged with the collection of the revenue of the country. It is no defense for him to say that he does not know of the existence of these frauds. Is it not enough for him to know that there are produced in this country at least seventy-five million gallons of distilled spirits, and that but seven million gallons pay the tax during the fiscal year about to close? Is it to be said that the responsible head of the revenue department—the Secretary of the Treasury—does not know that the reason why this revenue is not collected is because of frauds in his Department, and that he must wait for his subordinate officer to bring those frauds to his knowledge?

“I say the responsibility rests to-day upon the Secretary of the Treasury, unless he can shift that responsibility upon the President of the United States, where I believe it legitimately and properly belongs. While I give the Secretary of the Treasury credit for integrity of purpose and purity of character, he is unfortunately too much of a partisan, or is not willing to assume the responsibility which is within his power and control. Many of these revenue agents belong to what my colleagues on the Committee of Ways and Means and others here denominate “the whisky ring.” They are constantly roaming over the country and forming leagues, by which the Government is defrauded. * * *

“These men are not removed from office. I have been told that the Secretary of the Treasury makes representations to the President of the United States; but I have yet to learn that a single man who has been engaged in these fraudulent practices has been removed by the President of the United States. Hence, Mr. Chairman, I think the chief reason for these frauds is inherent in our present political situation, and that we never can get rid of them except in one way, that is by having harmony in the administration, and harmony in legislation, and administration and legislation on the side of the Government.”

OAKES AMES.

 OAKES AMES was born in Easton, Bristol County, Massachusetts, January 10, 1804. His father, Oliver Ames, many years ago began the business of manufacturing shovels in a small way, which has developed into the immense establishment employing hundreds of men under the control of O. Ames & Sons. Years ago, Oakes Ames, while still enlarging and extending his original business, entered the wider field of railroad enterprise. He invested capital and inspired energy in several languishing railroad enterprises, and was largely concerned in the construction of extended lines of railway in Iowa.

When the Pacific Railroad was regarded by multitudes of intelligent men as impracticable, if not impossible, Mr. Ames, with wise faith in the future, invested largely, and contributed in many ways to the success of the greatest material achievement of the age. His brother, Oliver Ames, entered into the enterprise, gave almost undivided attention to its affairs, and is now president of the road.

Notwithstanding the demands of a large business, Mr. Oakes Ames gave some time and attention to political affairs. He served for two years as a member of the Executive Council of Massachusetts. In 1862 he was elected a Representative from Massachusetts to the Thirty-eighth Congress, and was re-elected to the Thirty-ninth, Fortieth and Forty-first Congresses. He served on the Committees on Manufactures, and the Pacific Railroad. He was not in the habit of making speeches, and yet he exerted much influence in legislation.

GEORGE W. ANDERSON.



GEORGE W. ANDERSON was born in Jefferson County, Tennessee, May 22, 1832. He graduated at Franklin College, Tennessee, and adopted the profession of law. He settled in Missouri in 1853, and became editor of the "North-East Missourian." In 1859 and 1860 he was a member of the Missouri Legislature. Early in 1861 he organized a Home Guard, of which he was chosen colonel. He was subsequently commissioned a colonel of militia, and commanded the 49th Regiment of Missouri in active service. In 1860 he was a Presidential Elector, and in 1862 was elected a State Senator. In 1865 he was elected a Representative from Missouri to the Thirty-ninth Congress, in which he served on the Committee on Public Lands, and as chairman of the Committee on Mileage. He received a certificate of election to the Fortieth Congress, but his opponent, Colonel William F. Switzler, made a contest for the seat, which was finally decided in favor of Mr. Anderson, January 21, 1869. The following extract from a speech made by Mr. Anderson before the House during the discussion of the case, was in reply to some charges affecting his loyalty: "In 1860, 1861, and 1862 I was a pro-slavery man. I did not agree with Mr. Lincoln when he issued his emancipation proclamation, but I did not intend to separate myself from the Union men of the country. I accepted that proclamation in good faith. I was the owner of some slave property, and the moment I accepted that proclamation I emancipated every slave I owned, and I did not reserve them for the purpose of presenting a claim for them. Sir, I state upon the floor of the House of Representatives that I was the first man in North Missouri who raised an armed organization against the rebellion. I was the first man to whom arms were furnished for the purpose of suppressing traitors."

STEVENSON ARCHER.



STEVENSON ARCHER was born in Harford County, Maryland, February 28, 1827. His grandfather, John Archer, was an officer in the Revolution, and a member of Congress from 1801 to 1807. His father, Stevenson Archer, was a member of Congress from 1811 to 1817, and again from 1819 to 1821. The subject of this sketch graduated at Princeton College in 1846, adopted the profession of law, and was a member of the Maryland State Legislature in 1854. In 1866 he was elected a Representative from Maryland to the Fortieth Congress as a Democrat, receiving 7,091 votes against 5,014 for the Republican candidate. He served on the Committees on Naval Affairs, Expenditures on Public Buildings, and Education in the District of Columbia. In a speech, December 4, 1867, he advocated the repeal of the cotton tax, arguing from facts and figures that "its removal would benefit the very poorest class of the people of the South." Speaking, February 21, 1868, on the Naval Appropriation bill, Mr. Archer said: "If this House is in earnest with regard to the protection of the rights of our naturalized citizens, this, of all other times, is the time when there should be no reduction in the navy of the country. If we are in earnest in the speeches which have been made here and the resolutions which have been offered to protect the naturalized citizens of this country, I say that we ought to present to the world a stronger navy than we presented even during the rebellion. We have got to protect them either by the exhibition of such a force or else by declaring war itself with foreign nations. I hope that their rights will be protected, even if it leads to a declaration of war."

January 23, he spoke against the reduction of the whiskey tax. "It ought to stand," said he, "if for no other reason than the vindi-

cation of the Government. If this country could enforce its laws against ten million people in arms against it, I say it presents a strange spectacle if it cannot enforce a law to collect the taxes." He urged that if the energy which the House had displayed in investigating the evidence against the President, had been used in investigating the frauds against the Government, those who had violated the law in reference to the whiskey tax would have been brought to punishment, adding :

" While we go on legislating in this way this 'whiskey ring,' or the men who are setting the law at defiance which fixes the tax on whiskey at two dollars a gallon, will set a law at defiance if the tax be fixed at fifty cents, or any other sum. I say it is due to the dignity of the Government that, instead of repealing the tax on whiskey, this House should take such measures as will bring those who violate the law to a proper punishment, and the energy of this House ought to be brought to bear for that purpose. When the majesty of the law has been established, and not before, let us legislate for the reduction of this tax." July 13, 1868, he reviewed the policy of the Republican party, and its recently adopted platform. " In this contest for power," said he, " the Republican party resembles, in their recklessness, Sampson of old when led into the temple of the Philistines. He, blind with fury and hate against the surrounding masses, who scoffingly looked upon him and upbraided him for the loss of power and strength which his own folly had destroyed, stood between the mighty pillars of that temple, and rending them asunder, all perished in one vast ruin. As Sampson seized these pillars even so did the Republican party seize upon the two great pillars which are the supports of our temple. I mean the Supreme Court and the Executive. By the power still left in this party they have striven and are still striving to uproot these pillars from their foundations, and overwhelm at one fell swoop the masses of the American people."

SAMUEL M. ARNELL.

 SAMUEL M. ARNELL was born in Maury County, Tennessee, May 3, 1833. His grandfather was a soldier in the Revolution, who fought and brought back wounds from King's Mountain and Yorktown. Samuel was educated at Amherst College, Massachusetts, and studied law, and subsequently engaged in the manufacture of leather in Lewis County, Tennessee. Mr. Arnell having been charged on the floor of the House of Representatives with furnishing leather to the rebel army, replied, by way of "personal explanation," in a speech of which the following is an extract:

"Prior to the war, in connection with other parties, I was engaged in the manufacture of leather, and the breaking out of the war found me so occupied. After the fall of Fort Donelson, General Buell occupied my section of the country, but upon his retreat from Corinth, Mississippi, Middle Tennessee was left entirely exposed to the rebels. Before, however, the withdrawal of the Federal forces from my vicinity, I promptly informed the officer in command, General James S. Negley, that there was a considerable amount of leather in this establishment, and requested him to seize or destroy it. He replied that the abandonment of Middle Tennessee would be very brief. He could not transport it, and did not consider the necessity sufficiently great to destroy it. For six dreary months thereafter Van Dorn and Forrest occupied that section of country, conscripting men for the rebel service, seizing and impressing every article of food, clothing and transportation. A guard of rebel soldiers came to my premises, took possession of this leather in the name of the Confederacy, did what force and bayonets are always able to do, carried it off in their own wagons, and doubtless used it for rebel purposes. This is the head and front of my offending—material out of which

the rebel press in my own State and elsewhere have manufactured every variety of charge. . . . In the mad hour of the rebellion I gave to my country's cause no doubtful or lukewarm support. In 1861 I took the stump publicly against secession. In 1862, when the Federal army entered Tennessee, I rallied the scattered Unionists, and we held meetings expressive of our unalterable devotion to the Union. In 1864, at the suggestion of the then military governor of Tennessee, Andrew Johnson, I reorganized my own county of Maury, with the aid of other Unionists, upon a loyal basis. In the Tennessee Legislature of 1865 and 1866 I did my humble share toward building, not a despotism, as the gentleman from New York says, but a free, loyal, Republican State Government."

Besides the service above referred to in the State Legislature, Mr. Arnell was, in 1865, a member of the Tennessee Constitutional Convention. He was the author of the Civil Rights bill, and of the Franchise Law, which became a part of the Constitution of Tennessee. He was elected a Representative from Tennessee to the Thirty-ninth Congress, but the delegation from that State not being admitted immediately, he continued to hold his seat in the State Legislature. At the opening of the second session he was admitted to his seat, and served on the Committee on Public Expenditures. Re-elected to the Fortieth Congress, he served on the Committee on Accounts, and as chairman of the Committee on Expenditures in the State Department. He was re-elected to the Forty-first Congress, during which he remained a member of the Committee on Accounts, and was chairman of the Committee on Education and Labor. He introduced a resolution instructing the Library Committee to inquire into the subject of international copyright, and a resolution to repress the outrages of the Ku Klux Klan in Tennessee, for which he received letters threatening him with "summary midnight justice" when he should return to his home. He made an eloquent appeal to the House in favor of paying bounties to colored soldiers, spoke in favor of the immediate admission of Alabama, and advocated the continuance of the Freedman's Bureau.



Delos R. Ashley

DELOS R. ASHLEY.

EVADA, the richest of the United States in mineral resources, was admitted into the Union, October 31, 1864, with a voting population of little more than sixteen thousand. A few days later, the miners of the new State participated in the presidential election, giving Mr. Lincoln a majority, and at the same time electing Delos R. Ashley as their first Representative in Congress.

He was born at Arkansas Post, February 19, 1828. He received an academic education, and studied law at Monroe, Michigan. In 1849, among the foremost of the adventurers lured westward by the recent discovery of gold, he went to California, and settled in Monterey, where he soon found abundant and profitable demand for his professional services. In 1851 he was chosen district-attorney, and held the office until 1853. During the two years ensuing, he was a Democratic member of the Assembly of California, and in 1856 and 1857 he was a State Senator. He then retired from politics, and devoted himself to the practice of his profession. The political issues forced upon the country by the breaking out of the rebellion, caused him to unite with the Republican party, in the interests of which he canvassed the State, and was elected State Treasurer, an office which he held two years. In 1864 he removed to Austin, Nevada, where he practised his profession until his election as a Representative to the Thirty-ninth Congress. He was re-elected to the Fortieth Congress, during which he served on the Committees on Public Lands, and Mines and Mining. He made a speech, March 2, 1868, in favor of the impeachment of President Johnson, which was a brief, pertinent and unimpassioned effort. His speeches in Congress were generally and characteristically brief, business-like, and sensible.

JAMES M. ASHLEY.

 JAMES M. ASHLEY is a native of Pennsylvania, and was born November 14, 1824. He left home before attaining his fifteenth year, and for a time was a cabin-boy on Western river steamboats. He subsequently worked in a printing office, and visiting Portsmouth, Ohio, where his father had at one time resided, he connected himself with the press, to which his tastes and inclinations appear to have led him, and presently became one of the editors of the *Dispatch*, and afterwards editor and proprietor of the *Democrat*.

From the editor's sanctum, Mr. Ashley went into the law office of C. O. Tracy, Esq., at that time one of the most distinguished lawyers of Southern Ohio. There he remained three years, and was admitted to the bar in 1849, but never practiced his profession.

He engaged for a time in boat-building, and in 1852 we find him at Toledo, Ohio, engaged in the drug business. Meanwhile he participated actively in politics, and in 1858 was elected to the Thirty-sixth Congress from the Tenth Ohio District.

Without experience in public life, Mr. Ashley entered upon his Congressional career at a time of unusual interest, when the tempest of Southern treason was gathering in the firmament. While many were faltering in the enforcement of the popular demand for the nationalization of freedom, he maintained a uniform consistency, and was among the foremost in demanding this reform. All the great measures which now shed luster and honor upon the record of the Republican party, were advocated by him long before their adoption, and many of them were by him first introduced into



Only your friend
D. W. Ashley

Congress. He prepared and reported to the House the first measure of Reconstruction submitted to Congress, which, though defeated at the time of its first presentation, finally received the overwhelming indorsement of his party, both in and out of Congress. He has presented several propositions which, at the time of their introduction, failed to command the united vote of his party in Congress, but not one of importance which did not finally receive that indorsement.

Mr. Ashley has ever been a most active and reliable friend of the soldier. Every measure for their benefit or relief has received his earnest and active support. During the war very much of his time, when not at his post in Congress, was spent in visiting them in the hospitals and upon the field, and their every want or request met with his hearty response. The greater portion of his salary was expended for their relief, and no demand upon his charity or labor in their behalf failed to meet a generous response at his hands. Since the close of the war he has been ever vigilant in looking after their claims against the Government, and his efforts have been of much service in securing them against tedious delays and the treachery of unscrupulous agents.

Mr. Ashley was the first to move in the House for the impeachment of Andrew Johnson, and made several speeches advocating that measure, and for some time stood comparatively alone.

On the 29th of May he took the lead again in introducing into the House a constitutional amendment, the object of which was to abolish the office of Vice-President, making the presiding officer of the Senate elective by that body, limiting the term of the President to four years, and providing for his election directly by the people.

Mr. Ashley made a speech advocating this amendment, on which a contemporary very properly remarks that "the time has been in our history when reputations for statesmanship were established by speeches of less ability."

"The country," said he in that speech, "has been distracted, and its peace imperiled more than once, because of the existence of the office of Vice-President. The nation would have been spared the terrible

ordeal through which it passed in the contest between Jefferson and Burr in 1801 had there been no vice-presidential office. Had there been no such office, we would have been spared the perfidy of a Tyler, the betrayal of a Fillmore, and the baseness and infamy of a Johnson.

* * * * *

“ While each of the candidates for President and Vice-President professes to subscribe to the so-called platform of principles adopted by the conventions which nominate them, they nevertheless represent, as a rule, opposing factions in the party, and often at heart antagonistic ideas, which are only subordinated for the sake of party success. This was the case with Harrison and Tyler, Taylor and Fillmore, Lincoln and Johnson. When each of these Vice-Presidents, on the death of the President-elect, came into the presidential office, he attempted to build up a party which should secure his re-election. For this purpose they did not scruple to betray the great body of men who elected them to the office of Vice-President, nor did they hesitate at the open and shameless use of public patronage for that purpose. The weakest and most dangerous part of our executive system for the personal safety of the President is a defect in the Constitution itself. I find it in that clause of the Constitution which provides that the Vice-President shall, on the death or inability of the President, succeed to his office. The presidential office is thus undefended, and invites temptation. The life of but one man must often stand between the success of unscrupulous ambition, the designs of mercenary cliques, or the fear and hatred of conspirators.”

In a recent address, Mr. Ashley paid the following tribute to certain prominent anti-slavery men of the country :

“ To the anti-slavery men and women of the United States we owe our political redemption as a nation. They who endured social and political ostracism, the hatred of slave-masters, and the cowardly assaults of Northern mobs, in defense of those who were manacled and dumb, and could not ask for help, were the moral heroes of our great anti-slavery revolution. To them, and to many thousands whose names will never be written on the pages of history, but whose lives

were as true, as unselfish, and as consecrated as any, is the nation indebted for its regenerated Constitution, its vindication of the rights of human nature, and its solemn pledge for the future impartial administration of justice. To me these are the men whose lives are the most beautiful and the most valuable. . . . The world is full of men whose pure and unselfish lives ennoble and dignify the human race. My exemplars are the men who in all ages have lived such lives, whether religious reformers like Luther and Wesley, or philosophers and statesmen like Hampden and Sydney, Locke and Bacon, Cobden and Bright and John Stuart Mill; or like our own Washington and Lincoln, Phillips and Garrison, Stevens and Sumner, Greeley and Gerrit Smith. To me the only model statesman is he who secures liberty and impartial justice for all, and protects the weak against the strong. He is the statesman and the benefactor who aids in educating the ignorant, and in lightening the cares of the toiling millions."

For ten years Mr. Ashley held a seat in Congress by successive re-elections. In the fall of 1868, however, the official returns gave the election to the Forty-first Congress to his opponent, but under such circumstances as to cause their accuracy to be questioned. He was nominated by President Grant for Governor of the Territory of Montana, and was confirmed by the Senate.

SAMUEL B. AXTELL.

 SAMUEL B. AXTELL was born in Franklin County, Ohio, October 14, 1819. He was educated at Western Reserve College, Ohio, and adopted the profession of law. In 1851 he emigrated to California, and settled in San Francisco. He was elected a Representative from California to the Fortieth Congress as a Democrat, and was re-elected to the Forty-first Congress. During his first term he served on the Committees on Commerce and Weights and Measures, and during his second term on the Committees on the Pacific Railroad and Agriculture. Mr. Axtell's speeches in the Fortieth Congress, while indicating his adherence to Democratic polities, showed a lively interest in the material prosperity of the country, and especially of the Pacific coast. He addressed the House, July 7, 1868, in favor of the purchase of Alaska, asserting that "the Pacific States, more intimately acquainted with this territory than the Atlantic States, are unanimously in favor of this purchase." In another part of this speech he said: "We have reached a point in the history of the world, where the Pacific Ocean is to be the great theatre of the world's greatness from this time forward. . . . When we have, as we shall have in our time, three lines of railroad communication with the Pacific coast and a great ship canal across the isthmus, we shall then find that the Pacific Ocean is the great theatre for the activity of our citizens; we shall then rejoice that we have extinguished, by purchase, any other national flag upon that coast; that we have given to our commerce harbors there; that we have opened up the means of holding and controlling, as it is our destiny to hold and control, not only all North America, but the great commerce of the Pacific."

ALEXANDER H. BAILEY.



LEXANDER H. BAILEY was born in Minisink, Orange County, New York, August 14, 1817. He graduated at Princeton College, New Jersey, in 1838; subsequently studying and practising law. From 1840 to 1842 he was master and examiner in Chancery for Greene County, New York. He was justice of the peace in the town of Catskill for four years. In 1849 he was a member of the Assembly of the State of New York. In 1858 he became judge of Greene County, and held the office four years. From 1861 to 1864 he was a member of the State Senate. He was elected a Representative from New York to the Fortieth Congress to fill the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of Roscoe Conkling, and took his seat November 30, 1867. He was re-elected to the Forty-first Congress as a Republican, receiving 12,543 votes against 11,240 for the Democratic candidate. During the Fortieth Congress he served on the Committee on Private Land Claims, and the Committee on Expenditures in the Interior Department. On February 4, 1868, he spoke briefly but forcibly in favor of measures to protect the rights of American citizens abroad, asserting that "the just and righteous position here taken, and which is hereafter to be maintained, will insure to every American citizen, no matter what his origin, or how humble he may be, the freedom of the world." February 4, in a long and able argument he maintained that "there is a great public necessity for the impeachment of Andrew Johnson." May 12, in speaking on a bill relating to the Pacific Railroad, he maintained that it "is very important that Congress should regulate the tariff of charges upon these roads." Although representing a district somewhat interested in the Niagara Ship Canal, he spoke against the proposed work on the ground that "the nation cannot now afford to make the expenditure."

JEHU BAKER.



EHU BAKER was born in Fayette County, Kentucky, November 4, 1822. He received an academical education, studied law, and located in Belleville, Illinois, for the practise of his profession. He was elected a Representative from Illinois to the Thirty-ninth Congress, during which he served on the Committee on Private Land Claims, on the Special Committee on the Civil Service, and as chairman of the Committee on Expenditures in the Post-office Department. He was re-elected to the Fortieth Congress as a Republican, receiving 13,032 votes against 11,956 for the Democratic candidate. In the Fortieth Congress he served on the Committees on Education and Labor, and Freedmen's Affairs. He delivered several speeches evincing much thought and careful study in their preparation. In a speech delivered July 20, 1867, on the President's message, he denounced the arrogance of Mr. Johnson in presuming to "take into his own hands and to subject to the poor fallible judgment of a single individual the immense work of restoring civil order, and guaranteeing republican governments to the disorganized States of the Union." December 4, 1867, he gave a series of brief and cogent reasons for the repeal of the cotton tax. January 18, 1868, he delivered an eloquent and able speech against the purchase of Alaska, in the course of which he said that "the well-being of the nation loudly and imperatively demands a period of rest from territorial growth, during which it may harmonize its jarring and hostile elements, restore its crippled industries, complete its great channels of inter-communication, and unify itself by building up in the hearts of its people that *amor patriæ* which such immense numbers of them have lost."

JOHN D. BALDWIN.

 JOHN D. BALDWIN was born at North Stonington, Connecticut, September 28, 1810. His ancestors were among the earliest settlers in Connecticut. His father and other relatives were prominent patriots in the war for Independence. He entered Yale College at the earliest admissible age, and graduated to the degree of Master of Arts, afterwards reading law and theology. His inclinations, however, led him to literary pursuits, and in 1842 he commenced an active career in journalism, being associated with the press first in Hartford, and afterwards in Boston. Previous to this, he had published a volume of poems which gave evidence of cultivated taste, lively imagination, and fine descriptive powers.

In Boston Mr. Baldwin became actively associated with the Free-soil movement, and during the next eighteen years was among its leading advocates. On the establishment of the Boston "Commonwealth," about the time the Fugitive Slave law was enacted, Mr. Baldwin assumed its editorship. Conducted with great ability and vigor, yet avoiding personal issues as much as possible, the "Commonwealth" had a great deal to do in shaping that political anti-slavery sentiment which originated the Republican party. Afterwards Mr. Baldwin became editor of the Boston "Telegraph," and then purchased the Worcester "Daily Spy," one of the oldest journals in America. During these years of active professional life, Mr. Baldwin found time to act as delegate to all the National Conventions of the Free-soil, Liberty party, and Republican organizations, and also to engage in studies connected with oriental inquiries so extensive and thorough as to secure for him a reputation for profound scholarship. He is a member of the American Oriental Society, and has long been in correspondence with the leading societies and learned men in Europe, whose archeological and historical studies are related to the subjects of his own extensive inquiries and research.

In 1862 Mr. Baldwin was elected a Representative from Massachusetts to the Thirty-eighth Congress. In that body he served on the Committees on Public Printing, Public Buildings and Grounds, and Expenditures, and soon became known as an active working member. A long continued bronchial affection prevented him from exerting himself as a debater, though a speech on "State Sovereignty" attracted considerable attention from its historical value and its logical analysis of the heresy which it combatted. He was re-elected to the Thirty-ninth Congress, in which he served on the District of Columbia Committee. He took great interest in all measures designed to ameliorate the condition of the poor and uneducated, aiding by the introduction and support of various measures the organization of a public school system for the freed people. Re-elected to the Fortieth Congress, Mr. Baldwin was made chairman of the Committee on the Library. In this capacity he continued more actively and directly the interest he had taken in the great Congressional Library from the beginning of his career in the House of Representatives, and was particularly active in extending its value in the direction of his own favorite researches. During this Congress Mr. Baldwin made a speech marked with scholarly knowledge, and rare eloquence in reply to Hon. James Brooks, who took the ground that the decay of all nations was owing to the admixture on terms of equality in their public and social polity of inferior races. Mr. Baldwin's reply attracted general attention, and was republished as a campaign document during the presidential contest of 1868, by the Republican committee.

Shortly before the close of the Fortieth Congress Mr. Baldwin completed and published, through the Harpers, a volume containing the results of his long continued and extensive studies under the title of "Pre-Historic Nations," in which he endeavors to establish, by a careful review of the evidence he had found, the existence of a civilized race whom he designates as the Cushites, and who, he aims to show, were the founders of an extensive civilization, which all scholars now acknowledge as having a common origin, though widely scattered and in various degrees of development.



W. P. Banks

BY M. HALLIDAY FAIRFAX

1870. LONDON: MACMILLAN & CO.

NATHANIEL P. BANKS.

NATHANIEL P. BANKS was born in Waltham, Massachusetts, January 30, 1819. With no other early education than that afforded by the common schools, he was placed, as soon as he could be of service, at work in a cotton factory of which his father was the overseer. He afterward learned the trade of a machinist. Joining a dramatic company which was formed among his associates, he played the prominent parts with so much success, that he had inducements offered him to adopt the profession of an actor. But preferring another stage, he lectured before political meetings, lyceums, and temperance societies, and afterward became editor of a newspaper in his native place. He was in request as a speaker in the political meetings of the Democratic party, and for his services received an office under Polk's administration in the Boston Custom House. In 1849 he was elected to the House of Representatives of Massachusetts, and in 1851 he was chosen Speaker.

In the summer of 1853 he was President of the Convention called to revise the Constitution of the State, and in the same year he took his seat as a Representative in the Thirty-third Congress from Massachusetts. He signified his withdrawal from the Democratic party by voting against the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, which was the absorbing political topic of the time. In 1854 he was re-elected to Congress, and was selected by the Republicans as their candidate for Speaker of the House. He was elected after a contest of two months, and more than one hundred ballots. He performed the difficult duties of the Speakership with unequalled ability, and no one of his decisions was ever overruled by the House. He continued a Representative in Congress until 1857, when he was elected Governor of Massachusetts, to which office he was twice re-elected.

At the breaking out of the rebellion, he entered the military service of the country. He was commissioned a Major-General, May 30, 1861, and was soon after assigned to command the Department of Annapolis, with headquarters at Baltimore. The spirit of rebellion possessed the people and the municipal government of that city, requiring for its successful treatment great executive ability and vigorous policy. The measures adopted by General Banks were such as the emergency demanded. The Government re-asserted its authority, and rebellion in Maryland was repressed by the promptitude and decision of General Banks in arresting George P. Kane, Marshal of the Baltimore Police, and suspending the powers of the Police Commissioners.

Soon after the disaster of Bull Run General Banks was ordered to relieve General Patterson. He was subsequently assigned to command the Fifth Army Corps which defeated Stonewall Jackson in the battle of Winchester, and broke the "quiet" which long had a depressing effect on the country.

The spring of 1862 found General Banks in the valley of the Shenandoah with a force of about eighteen thousand men, ready to move upon Staunton and capture that important military position. He was already within twenty-eight miles of that place, and saw the prize within his grasp, when an order was issued from the War Department, directing him to send Shields' Division of 12,000 men to reinforce McDowell. Banks obeyed the order, though it was the death-blow of his hopes, and placed him at the mercy of Stonewall Jackson, who, flushed with a recent success, was ready to fall upon him with an overwhelming force. Resolved not to surrender his little army, he began his masterly retreat by way of Winchester to the Potomac. A series of battles was fought, by which the enemy was held in check until Banks' army and trains were placed across the Potomac with little loss. The necessity for this retreat was created in Washington, where it naturally and justly created great panic among the officials. Scarcely any movement of the war was managed with more consummate generalship than this retreat in the Valley of the Shenandoah.

His Corps having been placed in the Army of Virginia, under command of Pope, General Banks fought the Battle of Cedar Mountain. He subsequently, for a short time, was in command of the defences of Washington.

He was, December 15, 1862, assigned to command the Department of the Gulf. Never was a more difficult task assigned to an officer than the accomplishment of the various political, diplomatic, and military ends which the Government had in view in this Department. The reconstruction of Louisiana, the presentation of a formidable front to the French in Mexico, and the cutting in two of the eastern and western armies of the Confederacy—these were some of the multifarious objects aimed at in sending General Banks to New Orleans.

His administration of civil affairs in New Orleans, though different in manner from that of General Butler, was similar in its object and effect—the suppression of rebellion and the fostering of the loyal element.

In his military movements, General Banks was successful in the capture of Port Hudson on the Mississippi. A movement against Sabine Pass, under General Franklin, disastrously failed, although the fort was defended by less than fifty men. Other operations on the coast and on the Rio Grande were attended with success.

After the fall of Vicksburg and Port Hudson, it was the advice of General Grant and General Banks that a movement should be made on Mobile, and that the rebel army west of the Mississippi, isolated as it was, should be left unemployed and useless to the Confederacy. There were, however, in Washington, influential parties who desired that an expedition should be made up the Red River which would bring into market the cotton of that region. Against his own judgment General Banks entered upon the Red River expedition with an inadequate force, which was not wholly under his control, since Smith, and Steele, and Porter with the gun-boat fleet, each held independent commands—an arrangement fatal to the success of the expedition. The Union army had made its way to a point about fifty miles south of Shreveport on the Red River, when its progress was

checked by the disastrous battle of Sabine Cross Roads. Banks fell back a few miles with his army and made a stand at Pleasant Hill, where he gained a decisive victory. The expedition, however, proceeded no further, since the low stage of water prevented the further progress of the fleet. General Banks was soon after relieved by General Canby, who had been assigned to command the Department of the Gulf.

In his military career General Banks was by no means as successful as in political life. Without military experience, he was appointed a Major-General at so early a day as to outrank many experienced officers. This had a tendency to produce insubordination, and to fan the jealousy which existed among regulars against volunteer officers. He lacked the firm military grasp of one "born to command," by which a general causes subordinate officers and men promptly to execute his purposes. He was wanting in the faculty of looking after his own interests and reputation. He had no relatives nor partners engaged in profiting by the misfortunes of the country, and engaged in no private speculations of his own, yet he was unwillingly made the agent of cotton speculators in the Red River expedition; and when their schemes were unsuccessful, they contrived to lay on General Banks the odium which justly belonged to themselves. No officer of the army gave more honest and patriotic service to the country, no general personally profited by it so little.

Resigning his commission in the army, he was elected a Representative from Massachusetts to the Thirty-ninth Congress, and was re-elected to the Fortieth and Forty-first Congresses, serving as Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs.



Engraved by F. C. W.

James Barnes

WILHELM STAFEN

1850. NEW YORK

DEMAS BARNES.



OMMERCE as well as politics has representatives in the Fortieth Congress. Prominent among these is Demas Barnes, who was born in Gorham Township, Ontario County, New York, April 4, 1827. Left an orphan while yet in infancy, his life, even as a child, was full of industry and sacrifice.

At the age of fourteen he went forth into the world penniless and alone. With all his worldly possessions in his hand, he worked his way towards New York City, where, after weeks of labor and travel, he arrived without money to buy a breakfast. He immediately went to work and earned his first meal by noon. Soon after, as country boys are apt to do, he conceived a desire to visit a theater. Arriving in front of the Park Theater, fascinated by the bill and the music, he took account of his cash, but had not enough to enter the cheapest amphitheater. Where that theater then stood, is now one of the finest warehouses in America, owned by our youthful hero, and worth not less than one hundred thousand dollars.

Business being depressed, he again drifted into the country, worked upon a farm, and attended district school as he could. At eighteen we find him a clerk in a store; at twenty a country merchant; at twenty-two commencing a small business in the city of New York. The dependence of a widowed mother, and half brothers and sisters by her subsequent marriage, surrounded him with responsibilities and inspirited him with energy, frugality, and ambition. Depriving himself of luxuries, he applied himself to business with untiring assiduity and with signal success.

He soon became the leading merchant in his department of busi-

ness in the world, his principal house being in New York, with branches in San Francisco, New Orleans, and Montreal.

While accumulating wealth by extraordinary exertions, he was ever alive to his want of literary culture, and applied himself at all times to the collection of useful information. A close observer of near and remote events, and a patron of benevolent institutions, his lectures before agricultural societies, and contributions to the press, called him into public notice, and obtained for him, from one of the Universities, the title of LL.D.

Mr. Barnes early became a prominent member of the Chamber of Commerce in the city of New York, a director in insurance companies, and a trustee in benevolent institutions.

Having invested largely in the mineral lodes of the Western States, and being president of several mining companies, he felt it his duty to inspect them in person, and in 1865 he undertook the arduous task. He crossed the continent to the Pacific Ocean in a wagon, visiting the mines of Colorado, Utah, Nevada, and California. While making this trip, he contributed to the journals a series of letters replete with interesting narratives of personal adventure and practical observations.

These letters were subsequently published by Van Nostrand as a book, entitled, "From the Atlantic to the Pacific."

In politics Mr. Barnes was first a Whig, and an ardent admirer of Clay and Webster. Opposed to oppression and inclined to progress, he entered the Republican party at its organization, and as a private citizen resisted the extension of slavery into the Territories.

Deeming the Republican party to be drifting into sectionalism, in 1860 he declined to go as a delegate to the Chicago National Convention, saying, "I am a citizen—not a politician."

Being convinced that the nomination of Lincoln and Hamlin would prove the initial point in a future war, he immediately coined his political theories into commercial accounts, and on the 16th of June, 1860, closed his business with the Cotton States. He was the first

merchant in America who refused to do business except for cash. When the war came, it found him financially prepared.

In 1864 he was nominated for Congress, but declined in favor of another representative of his own political faith. In 1866 he was again nominated, and elected by the largest majority ever obtained in his district.

In Congress he was placed upon the important Committees of Banking and Currency and of Education and Labor.

He was from the first opposed to the inflation of the currency. But this measure having been forced upon the country, and its results becoming incorporated into our financial system, he saw disaster in a too rapid contraction, and in an elaborate and exhaustive speech, delivered January 11, 1868, said :

‘ The currency of a country is like the center of a wheel, the value of property resting upon it being the circumference. We can follow its expansive centrifugal force without danger; but when the motion is reversed, and it acts with contracting centripetal power, it checks the momentum of the financial world. Remove the center, and the circumference crumbles with the slightest touch. The conditions of society accommodate themselves to an expanding currency without interruption. They cannot do so when contraction takes place, for the reason that *one side of the account becomes fixed and immovable*. As money disappears, values shrink with unequal rapidity, *but debts remain at their full face*. A large proportion of our property is represented by credits or debts which no legislation can reduce. We have \$21,000,000,000 of property represented by \$700,000,000 of circulating medium; or three per cent. of money to ninety-seven per cent. of confidence and credit. We have a national, state, municipal, and personal indebtedness of over \$6,200,000,000. To contract our currency \$100,000,000, reduces the total value of our property one-seventh, or \$3,000,000,000. To contract \$300,000,000, as is proposed, would extinguish one-half the values of our property, and leave our indebtedness wholly unaffected, the end of which is bankruptcy to the citizen and repudiation by the Government. We have

inflated the balloon ; we have landed upon a barren island. Instead of undertaking to swim to the mainland against tides, against winds and currents, I would wait for the friendly craft to insure our safe deliverance. We must now wait for the increase of wealth and population to overtake our changed condition, and restore us to the specie standard of the world."

Mr. Barnes opposed the Impeachment of the President, in a speech delivered in the House, characterizing it as a party measure fraught with mischief to the country, as merging the Executive and Legislative Departments into one, inciting the spirit of retaliation, involving the stability of our national bonds, and possibly leading to civil war. He closed his argument with the following words: "I ask, gentlemen, what is to be the effect of their hurrying this nation into the jaws of a revolution, the end of which no man can foretell? * * I beseech you to pause in these high-handed, these useless, these dangerous measures. Behold the stagnation, destruction, sorrow and death, which have already followed as the result of your legislation. Retaliation is an element of human nature. Long pent-up rage strikes with mighty force when its chains are broken. Your zealous, enthusiastic, ambitious, and dangerous men, control the action of unthinking good men. The history of the past admonishes you—the uncertainty of the future warns you of what may follow. You are certainly sowing the seeds of anarchy, destroying national credit, and disheartening our already despondent people. Be wise, be just, be humane while yet you can. The memories of the past, the hopes of the future, our own liberties, the liberties and prosperity of our children and of our children's children, are involved in the vote you this day give. As for me, if you this day impeach the President of the United States upon the *evidence now before us*, I shall consider our liberties less secure, properties less valuable, our national honor tarnished, our country disgraced, our rights invaded, and the future full of woe and untold disaster."



W.H. Barnum

HON. WILLIAM H. BARNUM.

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR.

WILLIAM H. BARNUM.



WILLIAM H. BARNUM was born in Salisbury, Connecticut, September 17, 1817. He received a public school education, and at the age of eighteen engaged in mercantile pursuits. From a small beginning he soon built up an extensive business, and to his mercantile establishment added an iron foundry. His success in business was uninterrupted, and its extension almost unexampled in this country. In 1851 he commenced the manufacture of pig iron in Canaan, Connecticut, and soon after engaged in mining and manufacturing Salisbury iron, the most celebrated in the world for car wheels and ordnance and for malleable purposes. His single iron furnace at Salisbury was soon multiplied until he had no less than six in successful operation. In 1862 he established a car wheel manufactory in Chicago, and soon after engaged in similar enterprises in Jersey City and Detroit. In 1866 he opened two mines, and erected iron furnaces on the shore of Lake Superior. He established a rolling mill for the manufacture of rails at Spuyten Duyvel, New York, and a manufactory of steel tire for locomotives in Worcester, Massachusetts. His widely extended enterprises furnish employment and subsistence for five thousand persons.

In politics he has always been a Democrat. He was a member of the Connecticut State Legislature in 1851-52, and at the close of his term announced his determination never to hold political office again. In 1866, however, a nomination for Congress was thrust upon him against his will, and he was elected over P. T. Barnum, and was re-elected in 1868. He served on the Committees on Manufactures, on Roads and Canals, and on the Pacific Railroad. In Congress, without participating in general discussions, he has been attentive to the business of legislation and faithful to the interests of his constituents.

FERNANDO C. BEAMAN.

ERNANDO C. BEAMAN was born in Chester, Windsor County, Vermont, June 28, 1814. At the age of five he removed with his parents to the State of New York, and received a good English education at the Franklin County Academy. At twenty-two years of age he entered upon the study of law at Rochester, New York. In 1838 he removed to Michigan, where after pursuing his studies another year he was admitted to the bar, and commenced the practice of his profession, which he prosecuted with much success.

Politically Mr. Beaman was a Democrat until 1854, when the passage of the Nebraska act induced him to aid in the organization of the Republican party, of which he has remained one of the most devoted and conscientious adherents. For six years he held the office of prosecuting-attorney for Lenawee County, was judge of probate for four years, and in 1856 he was a presidential elector. In 1860 he was elected a Representative from Michigan to the Thirty-seventh Congress by a large majority, running ahead of the Republican electoral ticket some six hundred votes. He at once took an active part in legislation, and during his first Congressional term delivered two speeches which attracted attention, one on "Provisional Governments for the Rebel States," and another on the "Confiscation of Rebel Property." He was re-elected to the Thirty-eighth Congress, and served on the same committee and also on that on Territories. In the Thirty-ninth Congress he served on the Committees on Territories, the Death of President Lincoln, and Frauds on the Revenue, and as chairman of the Committee on Roads and Canals. In the Fortieth Congress he was a member of the Committees on Reconstruction and Appropriations. He was re-elected to the Forty-first Congress, receiving 22,197 votes against 20,595 for the Democratic candidate.



In. Bratt

1860. 1861. 1862. 1863.

JOHN BEATTY.

 JOHN BEATTY was born in Sandusky City, Ohio, December 16, 1828. Having obtained a good English education, he engaged in the business of banking at Cardington, in his native State. Meanwhile he was not neglectful of polities, and in 1860 he was a presidential elector on the Republican ticket. Partaking of the almost universal feeling of patriotic indignation that aroused the entire North at the fall of Fort Sumter, early in April, 1861, he volunteered as a private in a company raised in his own town. Of this company he was immediately and unanimously elected Captain, and on the 19th of the month he reported with his men for duty to the Adjutant-General of Ohio. Eight days later he was elected Lieutenant Colonel of the 3d Ohio Infantry, of which his company was a part. This was originally a three months' regiment, but on the 12th of June it re-organized for three years' service, the field officers remaining the same.

On the 23rd of June the regiment was sent to Western Virginia. During the summer and fall campaign in that mountainous region, at Middle Fork, Rich Mountain, Cheat Mountain, and Elkwater, it manifested its own valor and the excellence of its officers.

Transferred to Kentucky in November, the regiment was assigned to the old Third Division of the Army of the Ohio, commanded by General O. M. Mitchell. Soon after Lieutenant Colonel Beatty was promoted to the Colonely of his regiment. He accompanied General Mitchell in his campaign through Southern Kentucky, Middle Tennessee, and Northern Alabama. In the battle of Bridgeport, and in the operations about Decatur, Colonel Beatty took a conspicuous and efficient part. Having been appointed Provost Marshal of

Huntsville, he performed the duties of that office with fidelity and tact.

Returning to Louisville with General Buell, in September, 1862, he joined in the pursuit of Bragg through Kentucky. On the 8th of October he fought at the head of his regiment in the battle of Perryville. Holding the extreme right of General Rousseau's division, his regiment was assailed in both front and flank by an overwhelming force; and though in an hour's time one-third of his men were killed and wounded, Colonel Beatty held his ground until relieved by Colonel Pope with the 15th Kentucky.

In December, 1862, Colonel Beatty assumed command of the old Seventeenth Brigade, which had been commanded previously by such men as Lytle and Dumont. In the Battle of Stone River, on Wednesday, the 31st of December, this brigade, forming part of Rousseau's division, assisted in checking the assault of Hardee. Colonel Beatty had two horses shot under him, but he came out uninjured.

On Saturday night, January 3, 1863, he was ordered to attack the enemy's works lying near the Murfreesboro turnpike. Placing himself at the head of his brigade, he charged over the rebel works, and carried them at the point of the bayonet.

On the 12th of March, 1863, he was commissioned Brigadier General of Volunteers, to rank from the 29th of November, 1862. Assigned to the First Brigade of Negley's Division, he participated in the Tullahoma campaign. After the rebels had been driven out of that stronghold, he led the column which pursued them, skirmishing successfully with their rear guard until he gained the lofty plateau of the Cumberland.

In the Chattanooga campaign Gen. Beatty had the honor of being the first to lead his command to the summit of Lookout Mountain. The rebels, after a feeble resistance at Johnson's Crook, retired rapidly before him. In the masterly retreat from Dug Gap, which elicited warm commendation from both General Rosecrans and General Thomas, General Beatty was assigned by General Negley to the responsible and difficult duty of protecting and bringing away a large

wagon-train in the face of an immense force of Rebels. Not a single wagon fell into the enemy's hands.

In the battle of Chickamauga, General Beatty commenced the fighting, both on the 19th and 20th of September; the first day upon the extreme right, and the second upon the extreme left of the line. Assailed early on the morning of the 19th, he had scarcely repulsed the enemy after a fight of three hours' duration, and held his ground, when he was ordered to the centre of the line late in the afternoon. On Sunday morning he reported to General Thomas with his command, and was placed on the extreme left, along the Lafayette road, with orders to hold it at all hazards. Hour after hour, with his comparatively feeble force, he maintained his position against the masses of the foe which surged around him. He was reinforced at last by Colonel T. R. Stanely with his brigade, and, in conjunction, they charged and drove the Rebels half a mile, capturing a large part of General Adams's Louisiana brigade, with its leader at its head. Later in the day, General Beatty was among the heroes who held the last position against the combined efforts of the Rebel army. Again, on the 21st, while in position near Rossville, a heavy reconnoitering column attacked his brigade, but it was driven back with considerable loss.

In the re-organization of the army, General Beatty was assigned to the Second Brigade of Davis's division, and during the operations which resulted in the expulsion of the Rebels from Mission Ridge and Lookout Mountain, his command held the left of the line. Though not actively engaged at that time, he joined with great vigor in pursuit of the retreating foe. On the 20th of November, General Beatty, in conjunction with Colonel Daniel McCook, overtook the Rebel General Maury at Graysville, and after a short conflict entirely defeated him.

On the 1st of December General Davis's division commenced its march toward Knoxville, for the relief of General Burnside, not returning to its camp at Chattanooga until the 18th of the same month. General Beatty participated in this march, sharing fully the fatigues and hardships of the humblest soldier in the command.

On the 13th of January, 1864, he resigned his commission, and returned to the pursuits of a civilian.

Hon. C. S. Hamilton, member of the Fortieth Congress from the Eighth Ohio District, having been killed by an insane son near the commencement of his term, General Beatty was elected to fill the vacancy. This election, being the first held after the defection of President Johnson from the Republican party, was regarded with much interest by the entire country. The election of General Beatty in a doubtful district, over his Democratic competitor, was the first triumph of Congress over President Johnson before the people.

General Beatty took an active part in the campaign which resulted in the elevation of General Grant to the Presidency, and was himself at the same time re-elected to the Forty-first Congress.

JAMES B. BECK.

AMES B. BECK was born in Dumfrieshire, Scotland, February 13, 1822. He emigrated to the United States when sixteen years of age, and graduated at Transylvania University, Kentucky, in 1846. He studied law, and locating in Lexington, Kentucky, devoted himself wholly to the practise of his profession—a part of the time in partnership with John C. Breckinridge. In 1867 he was elected a Representative from Kentucky to the Fortieth Congress, and after some delay was admitted to his seat December 3, 1867. He was appointed a member of the Committee on Reconstruction, and at once took a prominent and leading part on the side of the minority. No member of the Democratic party in Congress made more speeches requiring profound research and legal argumentation. There is scarcely a phase of the Reconstruction question as it came up in the Fortieth Congress on which Mr. Beck did not place upon the record the views of the minority. January 15, 1868, he opposed the Supplementary Reconstruction bill, in an elaborate speech, "because it asserts there were no civil governments in those States, and because it attempts to prevent the Executive and the judicial power from interfering, and by virtue of the power and authority vested in them by the Constitution, protecting the people of these States from legislative usurpation." February 1, he presented an able argument maintaining the right of John Young Brown of Kentucky, to a seat in Congress. February 22, he spoke against impeachment, arguing that the President was justified in the removal of Stanton for the purpose of testing the constitutionality of the Tenure of Office bill. March 11, he addressed the House in opposition to the bill for admitting Alabama, the passage of which

he declared would be almost conclusive that Republican institutions are a failure. "This is the first time," said he, "so far as I am aware, that the majority have gone to the length now proposed, to repudiate all their own acts, override all their own laws, and unblushingly and avowedly punish the people of a great State for doing what this Congress solemnly declared it was right, proper, and lawful for them to do."

He subsequently presented a minority report, signed by Mr. Brooks and himself, protesting against the admission of Alabama under a constitution not adopted by the voters of the State. May 8, he made a speech against the admission of Arkansas, alleging that the Constitution under which it was proposed to reconstruct the State was "defeated by an overwhelming majority." May 13, he presented an elaborate argument opposing the bill admitting North Carolina, South Carolina, Louisiana and Georgia to representation, for the reason, among others, that their proposed Constitutions "all fasten universal, unlimited, and perpetual negro suffrage on that people." July 24, 1868, he spoke at length against the bill to provide for the more speedy reorganization of the States of Virginia, Mississippi, and Texas, asserting in conclusion that he saw "nothing but evil" in the bill. January 19, 1869, he spoke in opposition to a bill relating to suits in the rebel States, as "an unnecessary and improper interference with the jurisdiction of the Courts of the several States." January 28, he made an elaborate and able reply to Mr. Boutwell, in opposition to the resolution proposing the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution, maintaining that "the principles involved strike down the columns that support the temple of liberty itself."

JOHN F. BENJAMIN.

 JOHN FORBES BENJAMIN is a native of New York, and was born in Cicero, Onondaga County, of that State, January 23, 1817; his ancestors being of the Knickerbocker Dutch stock. He received such an education as the common schools of the country afforded. He commenced school teaching at sixteen, and continued thus employed, except at intervals, during the five succeeding years. During this period, his leisure hours were diligently devoted to studies, having in view the legal profession. Attaining his majority, and being destitute of resources, during the six succeeding years he engaged in mercantile pursuits, and while thus occupied the study of law was kept steadily in view.

In 1844 Mr. Benjamin was induced to emigrate to the great West. He went first to Northern Illinois, but during the succeeding winter, being prostrated with fever, he was led to the conclusion that a milder climate was indispensable to his full recovery. He accordingly removed with his family to Texas, reaching Galveston in the following spring, and in very delicate health. Here for three years he engaged in mercantile pursuits, contemplating, meanwhile, in connection with others, the business of sheep raising, for which the beautiful prairies and fine climate of Texas seemed to them well adapted. The disturbances, however, connected with the Mexican war interfered with this plan, while the yellow fever, raging in 1847, in Galveston, seized upon Mr. Benjamin as one of its victims. He survived the attack, but as soon as he was sufficiently recovered he returned northward and settled in Shelby County, Missouri.

Presently another fever of a different character—the “California

gold fever"—attacked him, and with a great multitude similarly affected, he was soon wending his way over the plains towards the Pacific. Both his Texan and Californian enterprises appear to have been successful; and, on his return from the West, he applied himself with great diligence to the fulfilment of his long-cherished plan of engaging in the law. He plunged at once into the preparatory studies, was soon admitted to the bar, and at once, and apparently with but slight effort, attained to the front rank of his profession. As a successful advocate, he is said to have no superior in the State of Missouri.

Elected to the State Legislature, Mr. Benjamin soon became a prominent and leading member of that body—bearing an active part in inaugurating various important measures tending to the prosperity of the State. Until the rebellion, he was a firm and consistent Democrat; rendering able support to Buchanan in 1856, and afterwards to Douglas in 1860. He declared boldly against the Breckinridge movement as being charged with treason, and designed by its leaders to plunge the country into civil war. The story of Missouri, as the result of Mr. Lincoln's election, need not be repeated here. The agitation there, the widespread spirit of rebellion, and the fixed determination to carry the State along with the other slave States into secession are facts familiar to every one.

Among the foremost in resisting this tide of ruin was Mr. Benjamin; and he soon became of course an object of bitter rebel hostility. He was dragged from his home and family at midnight, and by armed traitors hurried off to their camp, twenty miles distant. Being released, he at once placed his affairs in order and joined the army as a private. He was soon commissioned as captain, then successively as major, lieut.-colonel, and finally as brigadier-general; and participated in many battles. In 1864 he was nominated for Congress and elected by a large majority, and was subsequently twice re-elected. In the Fortieth Congress he served on the Committees on Retrenchment, and on Invalid Pensions, and was chairman of the the last-named committee in the Forty-first Congress.

JACOB BENTON.

ACOB BENTON was born in Waterford, Vermont, August 14, 1819. His ancestors were from Connecticut; his grandfather owned a part of the present site of the city of Hartford. He attended Newbury Seminary, and graduated at Manchester, Vermont. He engaged in teaching, and was four years principal of an academy in Concord, New Hampshire. Meanwhile he commenced the study of law with Judge Bellows, and completed his preparation for the bar under the direction of General Young, with whom he subsequently formed a partnership in Lancaster, New Hampshire, where he has continued to reside. He pursued a most successful practice of his profession, interrupted only by the demands of public service in the offices to which he has been elected by the people. In 1854 he was elected a Representative in the New Hampshire Legislature, in which he made active and successful efforts to secure the election of John P. Hale to the Senate of the United States. He was for several years brigadier-general of the State Militia. In 1860 he was married to Louisa Dwight, daughter of General Neal Dow, of Portland, Maine. In 1866 he was elected a Representative from New Hampshire to the Fortieth Congress, and was re-elected two years later. As a member of the Joint Committee on Retrenchment he took part in proposing and advocating important legislation. He opposed the taxation of the United States bonds, and also advocated the payment of the national debt without deviation from the spirit or letter of the law. In February, 1868, he made a speech on Reconstruction, which, as a review of the record of the Democratic party, and the policy of President Johnson, attracted much attention, and was extensively circulated throughout the country as a campaign document.

JOHN A. BINGHAM.

OHN A. BINGHAM is a native of Pennsylvania, and was born in 1815. After studying at an academy, he spent two years in a printing office, and then entered Franklin College, Ohio, but poor health prevented him from advancing to graduation. He entered upon the study of law in 1838, and at the end of two years was admitted to the bar. From 1840 to 1854, he diligently and successfully practiced the profession in which he attained distinguished eminence. In the latter year he was elected a Representative in Congress, and has been a member of every subsequent Congress except the Thirty-eighth.

In 1864, Mr. Bingham was appointed a Judge-Advocate in the Army, serving six months in that capacity. He was subsequently appointed, by President Lincoln, Solicitor in the Court of Claims, and held the office until March 4, 1865, when he became a member of the Thirty-ninth Congress.

Mr. Bingham served as Special Judge-Advocate in the great trial of the assassination conspirators. Immense labor devolved upon him during this difficult and protracted trial. For six weeks Mr. Bingham's arduous duties allowed him but brief intervals for rest. He occupied nine hours in the delivery of the closing argument, in which he ably elucidated the testimony, and conclusively proved the guilt of the conspirators.

Mr. Bingham's success in this great trial attracted general attention, and awakened a wide-spread curiosity to know his history. Soon after the close of the trial, a correspondent of the Philadelphia *Press* having expressed the deep interest he had felt in arriving at a well-



ENG'D BY W. H. COOPER

W. A. Bingham

HON. WIN. A. BINGHAM

REPRESENTATIVE FROM OHIO.

founded conclusion as to "the guilt of the prisoners and the constitutionality of the court," proceeded :

"Grant me space in your columns to give expression to my most unqualified admiration of the great arguments, on these two main points, presented to the Court by the Special Judge-Advocate-General, John A. Bingham. In the entire range of my reading, I have known of no productions that have so literally led me captive.

"For careful analysis, logical argumentation, profound and most extensive research ; for overwhelming unravelment of complications that would have involved an ordinary mind only with inextricable bewilderment, and for a literal rending to tatters of all the metaphysical subtleties of the array of legal talent engaged on the other side, I know of no two productions in the English language superior to these. They are literally, as the spear of Ithuriel, dissolving the hardest substances at their touch ; as the thread of Dœdalus, leading out of labyrinths of error, no matter how thick and mazy. Not Locke or Bacon were more profound ; not Daniel Webster was clearer and more penetrating ; not Chillingworth was more logical.

"I feel sure that the author of these two unrivaled papers must possess a legal mind unrivaled in America, and must be, too, one of our rising statesmen. But who *is* John A. Bingham, who, by his industry and learning displayed on this wonderful trial, has placed the country under such a heavy debt of obligation ? He may be well known to others moving in a public sphere, like yourself, but to *me*, so absorbed in a different line of duty, he has appeared so suddenly, and yet with such vividness, that I long to know *some*, at least, of his antecedents."

Upon which the Editor remarked : "The question of our esteemed correspondent is natural to one who has not, probably, watched the individual actors on the great stage of public affairs with the interest of the historical and political student. We are not surprised that the arguments of Mr. Bingham before the Military Commission should have filled him with delight. It was worthy of the great

subject confided to that accomplished statesman by the Government, and of his own fame.

"When the assassins of Mr. Lincoln were sent for trial before the Military Court by President Johnson, the Government wisely left the whole management to Judge Holt and his eloquent associate, Mr. Bingham; and to the latter was committed the stupendous labor of sifting the mass of evidence, of replying to the corps of lawyers for the defense, of setting forth the guilt of the accused, and of vindicating the policy and the duty of the Executive in an exigency so novel and so full of tragic solemnity. The crime was so enormous, and the trial of those who committed it so important in all its issues, immediate, contingent, and remote, as to awaken an excitement that embraced all nations. The murder itself was almost forgotten by those who wished to screen the murderers, and the most wicked theories were broached and sown broadcast by men who, under cloak of reverence for what they called the law, toiled with herculean energy to weaken the arm of the Government, extended, in time of war, to save the servants of the people from being slaughtered by assassins in public places, and tracked even to their own firesides by the agents and fiends of Slavery. These poisons of plausibility, blunting the sharpest horrors of any age, and sanctifying the most hellish offenses, required an antidote as swift to cure. Mr. Bingham's two great arguments, alluded to by our correspondent, have supplied the remedy. They are monuments of reflection, research, and argumentation; and they are presented in the language of a scholar, and with the fervor of an orator. In the great volume of proof and counter-proof, rhetoric and controversy, that for ever preserves the record of this great trial, the efforts of Mr. Bingham will ever remain to be first studied with an eager and admiring interest. That they came after all that has and can be said against the Government, is rather an inducement to their more satisfactory and critical consideration. For from that study the American student and citizen must, more than ever, realize how irresistible is Truth when in conflict with Falsehood, and how poor and puerile are all the pro-

fessional tricks of the lawyer when opposed to the moral power of the patriot."

In Congress, Mr. Bingham has had a distinguished career, marked by important services to the country. In the Thirty-seventh Congress he was earnest and successful in advocating many important measures to promote the vigorous prosecution of the war, which had just begun. Returning to Congress in 1865, after an absence of two years, he at once took a prominent position. Upon the formation of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction, December 14, 1865, he was appointed one of the nine members on the part of the House. He was active in advocating the great measures of Reconstruction which were proposed and passed in the Thirty-ninth and Fortieth Congresses. The House of Representatives having resolved that Andrew Johnson should be impeached for "high crimes and misdemeanors," Mr. Bingham was appointed on the Committee to which was intrusted the important duty of drawing up the Articles of Impeachment. This work having been done to the satisfaction of the House, Mr. Bingham was elected Chairman of the Managers to conduct the Impeachment of the President before the Senate. On him devolved the duty of making the closing argument. His speech on this occasion ranks among the greatest forensic efforts of any age. He began the delivery of his argument on Monday, May 4th, and occupied the attention of the Senate and a vast auditory on the floor and in the galleries during three successive days. At the close of his argument, the immense audience in the galleries, wrought up to the highest pitch of enthusiasm, gave vent to such an unanimous and continued outburst of applause as had never before been heard in the Capitol. Ladies and gentlemen, who could not have been induced deliberately to trespass on the decorum of the Senate, by whose courtesy they were admitted to the galleries, overcome by their feelings, joined in the utterance of applause, knowing that for so doing the Sergeant-at-Arms would be required to expel them from the galleries. The history of the country records no similar tribute to the oratorial efforts of the ablest advocates or statesmen.

W. JASPER BLACKBURN.



JASPER BLACKBURN was born in Arkansas, and became a printer by profession. Locating in Homer, Louisiana, he published the Homer "Iliad," and had his presses twice destroyed on account of his fearless expressions of Union and Republican sentiments. He was elected a Representative to the Fortieth Congress from the Fifth District of Louisiana, and was admitted to his seat July 18, 1868. He introduced a bill to relieve all American citizens from the legal and political disabilities imposed by the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. February 13, 1869, he addressed the House on "the condition of the country," and "the duties of the Government," in which he depicted an unhappy state of affairs in the South, and said: "I can very plainly and candidly tell gentlemen who may feel anxious on the Southern situation that we shall never have peace down there until white men are allowed as much and as many privileges, politically, as the negro has."

In a speech favoring the suffrage amendment, January 30, 1869, Mr. Blackburn said: "I can assure Northern gentlemen that there was always in the South, both previous to and after the abolition of slavery, more kindly personal feeling toward the negro than I have ever heard of existing toward him among the people of the North. The meanest masters I ever knew were men who came from the North, as rash and fanatical abolitionists, and who, after their cupidity had overcome their philanthropy and patriotism, and they became the owners of slaves, knew no end to their exactions and no limit to their tortures. It comes then, gentlemen, with poor grace from any of you to object to the enfranchisement of the few colored men among yourselves, after you have freed by force the slaves of the South, and enfranchised them to a man."



John Blaize

JAMES GILLESPIE BLAINE.

AMES GILLESPIE BLAINE was born in Washington County, Pennsylvania, in 1830. His ancestors were among the early Scotch-Irish settlers in that State. His great-grandfather, Ephraim Blaine, was honorably distinguished as an officer in the Revolutionary war. He was originally a Colonel of the Pennsylvania Line; and for the last four years of the struggle, was Commissary General of the Northern Department. It is related in Appleton's "Cyclopedia" that "during the *dark winter* at Valley Forge, the preservation of the American army from starvation was in a great degree owing to the exertions and sacrifices of Colonel Blaine."

The immediate subject of this sketch graduated at Washington College, Pennsylvania, in 1847. After two or three years spent in teaching, he adopted the editorial profession, and removed to Maine in 1852, where he successively edited the Kennebec *Journal* and the Portland *Advertiser*, the two leading Republican papers in the State at that time. In 1858, Mr. Blaine was elected to the State Legislature from the city of Augusta. He served four consecutive years in that body; the last two, as Speaker of the House of Representatives. In 1862, Mr. Blaine was elected to the Thirty-eighth Congress from the Third Congressional District of Maine, and has been three times re-elected by very large majorities.

During Mr. Blaine's service in Congress, he has been a member of the Post-Office Committee, the Military Committee, the Committee on Appropriations, and the Committee on the Rules. He enjoys the reputation of being an exceedingly industrious committee man, and

he takes at all times a very active and prominent part in the business and in the debates of the House.

During the Thirty-eighth Congress, Mr. Blaine made a speech on the subject of the General Government assuming the "war debts of the loyal States," in the course of which he discussed at some length the ability of the nation to prosecute the war in which we were then so desperately engaged. This feature of Mr. Blaine's speech attracted great attention at the time, and it was made one of the Campaign Documents by the Union Republican party in the Presidential struggle of 1864.

During the Thirty-ninth Congress, Mr. Blaine bore an active and conspicuous part in the legislation on measures of reconstruction. Early in January, 1866, Mr. Blaine introduced a resolution, which was referred to the Reconstruction Committee, and was made the basis of that part of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution regulating the matter of Congressional Representation. Before the introduction of Mr. Blaine's resolution, the tendency had been to base representation directly on the voting population; but this was entirely changed; and it appears that the first resolution, looking to the modification, was introduced by Mr. Blaine, and supported by a speech which, at the time, attracted much attention.

During the second session of the Thirty-ninth Congress, Mr. Blaine's participation in the Reconstruction legislation was prominent and influential. The "Blaine Amendment," so well known in the public reports at the time, was moved by Mr. Blaine as a modification of Mr. Stevens' Military Bill. It was not adopted in precisely the form originally introduced by Mr. Blaine, but the measure since known as the "Howard Amendment," and sometimes as the "Sherman Amendment," as finally moved in the Senate, is substantially the same as originally proposed by Mr. Blaine in the House.

In the financial discussions of the Fortieth Congress, Mr. Blaine has been specially prominent. At the very opening of the December session, 1867, Mr. Blaine made an elaborate speech reviewing and opposing the Pendleton theory of the payment of our bonds

in greenbacks. At various times subsequently, he took prominent part in upholding the public credit and the national faith. In Mr. Blaine's first speech he closed with the following declarations, which coincided with singular accuracy with the conclusions since reached and enunciated by the Republican party in its National platform :

“ The remedy for our financial troubles, Mr. Chairman, will not be found in a superabundance of depreciated paper currency. It lies in the opposite direction ; and the sooner the nation finds itself on a specie basis, the sooner will the public Treasury be freed from embarrassment, and private business relieved from discouragement. Instead, therefore, of entering upon a reckless and boundless issue of legal tenders, with their consequent depression, if not destruction of value, let us set resolutely to work and make those already in circulation equal to so many gold dollars. When that result shall be accomplished, we can proceed to pay our five-twenties either in coin or paper, for the one would be the equivalent of the other. But to proceed deliberately on a scheme of depreciating our legal tenders, and then forcing the holders of Government bonds to accept them in payment, would resemble in point of honor the policy of a merchant who, with abundant resources and prosperous business, should devise a plan for throwing discredit on his own notes with the view of having them bought up at a discount ruinous to the holders and immensely profitable to his own knavish pocket. This comparison may faintly illustrate the wrongfulness of the policy, but not its consummate folly ; for in the case of the Government, unlike the merchant, the stern necessity would recur of making good in the end, by the payment of hard coin, all the discount that might be gained by the temporary substitution of paper.

“ Discarding all such schemes as at once unworthy and unprofitable, let us direct our policy steadily, but not rashly, toward the resumption of specie payment. And when we have attained that end—easily attainable at no distant day if the proper policy be pursued—we can all unite on some honorable plan for the redemption of the five-twenty bonds, and the issuing instead thereof a new series of bonds which

can be more favorably placed at a lower rate of interest. When we shall have reached the specie basis, the value of United States securities will be so high in the money markets of the world that we can command our own terms. We can then call in our five-twenties according to the very letter and spirit of the bond, and adjust a new loan that will be eagerly sought for by capitalists, and will be free from those elements of discontent that in some measure surround the existing funded debt of the country."

Mr. Blaine is an indefatigable worker, an accurate statistician, a logical reasoner, and a fluent speaker. He possesses thorough knowledge of parliamentary law. His tact in discharging the duties of presiding officer has often been tested by his temporary occupancy of the Speaker's Chair. Whether in the Chair or on the floor of the House, he always maintains his self-possession, dignity, and good humor. A sprightly correspondent of the *New York Tribune* thus describes his appearance near the close of the Thirty-ninth Congress : "Mr. Blaine, whose amendment excites the opposition of the great Pennsylvanian, is metallic ; you cannot conceive how a shot should pierce him, for there seem no joints to his harness. He is a man who knows what the weather was yesterday morning in Dakota, what the Emperor's policy will be touching Mexico, on what day of the week the 16th of December proximo will fall, who is the chairman of the school committee in Kennebunk, what is the best way of managing the National Debt, together with all the other interests of to-day, which anybody else would stagger under. How he does it, nobody knows. He is always in his seat. He must absorb details by assimilation at his finger ends. As I said, he is clear metal. His features are made in a mould ; his attitudes are those of a bronze figure ; his voice clinks ; and, as you know, he has ideas fixed as brass."



Austin Blair

AUSTIN BLAIR.



MONG the loyal and faithful Governors who cordially co-operated with President Lincoln in putting down the Rebellion, none deserve more honorable mention than Austin Blair, of Michigan. He was born February 8, 1818, in the town of Caroline, Tompkins County, New York. His ancestors were from Scotland, emigrating to America in the time of George I. The family, from generation to generation, seems to have pursued the business of farming. The subject of this sketch was the first who interfered with this arrangement, to become a professional man. The education of his boyhood was at the common school, until, at seventeen, he was sent to the Seminary at Cazenovia, New York, where he remained a year and a half. He then entered Hamilton College, at Clinton, New York, becoming a member of the Sophomore class. Here he pursued his studies to the middle of his Junior year, when he entered Union College, Schenectady, being attracted thither by the great reputation of President Nott. Here he was graduated in 1839, and never re-visited his Alma Mater, until, in 1868, he delivered the annual address before the literary societies of that institution.

After leaving college, Mr. Blair read law for two years, in the office of Sweet & Davis, at Owego, N. Y. At the end of this time he was admitted to the bar. He immediately emigrated to Michigan, and commenced practice at Jackson, the place of his present residence. In a short time he removed to Eaton Rapids; and after remaining there two years, he returned to Jackson, and engaged actively in the practice of his profession. While at Eaton Rapids, he was, in 1842, elected to the office of County Clerk, which was his first office.

At this time Mr. Blair was a Whig in politics, and in 1844 joined in the canvass for Henry Clay with great zeal; and, two years later he was sent to the lower house of the State Legislature. In 1848, he refused any longer to support the Whig ticket, and for two reasons: first, because of his great partiality for Mr. Clay, whom the nominating convention passed by in favor of General Taylor; and, secondly and principally, because of his decided anti-slavery sentiments.

After the nomination of General Taylor, Mr. Blair attended the convention at Buffalo which put in nomination Van Buren and Adams. This ticket he supported with all his might, not that he cherished any hope of success, but that he thought it was time for a beginning to be made in the right direction.

In 1852 he was elected Prosecuting-Attorney of Jackson County, holding that office during two years. In 1854, Mr. Blair actively participated in the proceedings at the convention at Jackson, which resulted in the foundation of the Republican party in Michigan. This convention brought together the anti-slavery men of the Whig and Free-Soil parties in that State, and resulted in a complete triumph over the Democracy at the Fall election. He was, at this time, chosen a Senator in the State Legislature. In 1856, he was an earnest supporter of Fremont and Dayton. At the November election of 1860, Mr. Blair was chosen Governor of Michigan, and he entered upon his executive duties in the following January. Fully aware of the perilous position in which the country had been placed by the spirit of rebellion which then pervaded the Southern States, and foreseeing the inevitable collision, he commenced his official career with a full appreciation of the responsibilities of his office. His judicious and prompt administration of military affairs in the State, soon distinguished him as possessing great executive ability, ardent love of country and true devotion to the interests and honor of his State. These characteristics soon secured for him the confidence of the people of both political parties, which he retained during his entire four years' administration.

The inaugural of Governor Blair, which was a profound and philo-

sophical discussion of the true nature of our form of government, and of the real signification of the existing and impending issues, closed with these emphatic words :

“ It is a question of war that the seceding States have to look in the face. They who think that this powerful Government can be disrupted peacefully, have read history to no purpose. The sons of the men who carried arms in the Seven Years’ War with the most powerful nation in the world, to establish this Government, will not hesitate to make equal sacrifices to maintain it. Most deeply must we deplore the unnatural contest. On the heads of the traitors who provoke it, must rest the responsibility. In such a contest the God of battles has no attribute that can take sides with the revolutionists of the Slave States.

“ I recommend you at an early day to make manifest to the gentlemen who represent this State in the two Houses of Congress, and to the country, that Michigan is loyal to the Union, the Constitution, and the Laws, and will defend them to the uttermost ; and to proffer to the President of the United States the whole military power of the State for that purpose. Oh, for the firm, steady hand of a Washington, or a Jackson, to guide the ship of State in this perilous storm. Let us hope that we shall find him on the 4th of March. Meantime, let us abide in the faith of our fathers—‘ Liberty and Union, one and inseparable, now and for ever.’ ”

Marshaled by such a leader, the Legislature was neither timid nor slow in declaring the loyalty of Michigan to the Union. In joint resolution, offered February 2, 1861, it declared its adherence to the Government of the United States, tendered it all the military power and material resources of the State, and declared that concession and compromise were not to be offered to traitors. Still, nothing definite was done ; no actual defensive or aggressive military steps were taken, until rebel foolhardiness precipitated the struggle that had become inevitable, by converging upon Fort Sumter the fire of the encircling batteries of Charleston Harbor. On April 12, 1861, the news was received at Detroit that the rebels at Charleston had ac-

tually inaugurated civil war by firing upon Fort Sumter. This intelligence created much excitement, and in view of the uncertainty of coming events, the people commenced looking around to estimate how united they would be in the cause of the Union. On the following day, a meeting of the Detroit Bar, presided over by the venerable Judge Ross Wilkins, was held, and resolutions were adopted pledging that community to "stand by the Government to the last," and repudiating the treason of the South. By the following Monday, April 15, when the surrender of the South Carolina fortress was known throughout the land, and the call of the President for 75,000 volunteers had been received, the entire State was alive to the emergencies and the duties of the hour, and the uprising of the people was universal. Public meetings were held in all the cities and most of the towns, pledges of assistance to the nation in its hour of peril made, and volunteering briskly commenced.

On Tuesday, April 16, Governor Blair arrived in Detroit, and during the day he issued a proclamation calling for a regiment of volunteers, and ordering the Adjutant-General to accept the first ten companies that should offer, and making it the duty of that officer to issue all the necessary orders and instructions in detail. The movement thus inaugurated did not slacken in impetus nor lessen in ardor. The State responded to the call of its authorities most promptly. The patriotism of the people was in a blaze, war meetings were held in every town, and the tender of troops from all points in the State far exceeded the requisition.

The first call made by the President upon Michigan for troops to aid in the suppression of the rebellion, was, as before stated, for one regiment only, which was promptly met by the muster into service of the First regiment, and that was soon followed by the second. At the same time several other regiments were persistently pressing for service, and some were authorized to organize without provision of law, while many companies found service in other States. In the meantime the organization of the Third and Fourth regiments had been commenced on the responsibility of the Governor alone, and

while that was in progress, he received instructions from the War Department to discontinue the raising of more troops, and that it was important to reduce, rather than enlarge the number.

The Governor, foreseeing an immediate necessity for preparation to meet coming emergencies and future calls, assumed the responsibility of establishing a camp of instruction at Fort Wayne, near Detroit, for the officers and non-commissioned officers of the Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh regiments; and on the 21st of May, companies were assigned to those regiments, and their officers were ordered to assemble at Fort Wayne on the 19th of June.

A course of instruction followed, with much success, until August 1, when the camp was broken up and the force sent to various localities to recruit their men and organize the regiments. This was accomplished with astonishing promptness, the Sixth being mustered in August 20th; the Seventh, August 22d; and the Fifth, August 28th. All had left for the field prior to the 12th of September.

The establishment of the Camp of Instruction attracted much attention in other States, and most favorable comments from public journals. It has always been considered in Michigan as a most judicious and eminently successful effort, its value becoming more and more apparent as the war progressed, not only in the efficiency of these particular regiments, but in many others having the benefit of officers who had received the instruction of the camp.

The law of Congress of August 3d, had authorized the President to receive into service 500,000 volunteers. The proportion of Michigan was understood at the time to be 19,500. In response to this requisition, the State continued recruiting, sending regiment after regiment to the field; and up to the end of December, had sent to the front three regiments of cavalry, one of engineers and mechanics, twelve of infantry, two companies of cavalry for the "Merrill Horse," two companies for 1st and 2d regiments U. S. Sharp-shooters, and five batteries.

In response to the call of the President of October 17, 1863, for 300,000 more, Governor Blair issued his proclamation for the Michi-

gan quota of 11,298, in which he makes use of the following stirring language.

"This call is for soldiers to fill the ranks of the regiments in the field,—those regiments which by long and gallant service have wasted their numbers in the same proportion that they have made a distinguished name, both for themselves and the State. The people of Michigan will recognize this as a duty already too long delayed. Our young men, I trust, will hasten to stand beside the heroes of Antietam, Gettysburg, Vicksburg, Stone River, and Chicamauga."

The Governor's stirring proclamation, and the patriotic response of the people of Michigan, immediately followed each successive call of the President for volunteers.

During his four years' administration, Governor Blair devoted his entire time, talents, and energies to the duties of his office. When he left the Executive chair, he had sent into the field eighty-three thousand three hundred and forty-seven soldiers. In his message delivered to the Legislature, January 4, 1865, he greeted them most affectionately from the Capitol of the State, on vacating the chair which he had so well filled and so highly honored during the years of the war that had passed.

July 4, 1867, Gov. Blair delivered an oration at the laying of the corner-stone of the Michigan Soldiers' Monument. It comprised an able and faithful resume of the principal conflicts of the war, reviewing in considerable detail the prominent part taken in those bloody scenes by the brave and hardy troops of Michigan.

The brief Congressional record of Gov. Blair is what might be expected from the antecedents of the man. He is an earnest Republican, a strong friend and supporter of the Reconstruction measures, and a stern enemy to every form of repudiation, and to every tendency in that fatal direction. His speech upon the national finances on the floor of the House, March 21, 1868, is eminently just and convincing, and such as could hardly fail of commanding itself to all fair and honest minds.



Thomas Boles

HON. THOMAS BOLES.

THOMAS BOLES.

HOMAS BOLES was born near Clarksville, Arkansas, July 16, 1837. His parents were devoted Christians and very attentive to the moral training of their children. As schools were few, and of brief duration, opportunities for education were limited. The subject of this sketch had not the privilege of attending school more than a year in all, a sufficient time, however, to give him a taste for reading and study. By improving his time at night, after the day's work on the farm was done, he succeeded in acquiring a good English education. In 1854, he taught school in an adjoining neighborhood, and continued this employment during parts of the two years succeeding, thus enjoying additional opportunities for self-culture, which he did not fail to improve.

As soon as he attained his majority, he was employed by the sheriff of the county as his deputy. In 1859, he was appointed deputy clerk of the Circuit Court by Judge Pound, then clerk of Yell County. While in this office he had access to a law library, and devoted his spare time to study under the direction of Judge Pound. In the fall of 1860, he obtained license to practise as an attorney-at-law and solicitor in chancery.

In the presidential election of 1860, the race in Arkansas was between Breckenridge, Bell, and Douglass, there being no Lincoln electoral ticket nominated in that State. Mr. Boles espoused the cause of Mr. Douglass, but with no hope of success in Arkansas, since the secession element was predominant in that State. After the election, he took decided ground in favor of the Union, and had the satisfaction of seeing his county, which had been strongly Democratic, give a majority of five hundred votes against the secession of the State.

The Rebellion was, however, soon fully inaugurated, and swept

over the State with restless fury, bearing down everything before it. Young men who would not enter the rebel army were branded as cowards, and were insulted by every ingenious device that rebel women could invent. Being of a frail constitution, Mr. Boles pleaded physical disability as an excuse for not entering the rebel service. He was subsequently drafted and taken into conscript headquarters where he was kept two or three weeks, but his health became so bad that he was allowed to return home.

In the summer of 1862, an organization was formed in that locality called the "Union League," into which Mr. Boles was actively employed in initiating members. Often, during dark and stormy nights, he met refugees in the mountains to receive them into the organization, and inform them of the whereabouts of their pursuers.

In 1863, the long looked-for advance of the Union army was made, the Arkansas River was crossed, Fort Smith, Dardanelle, and Little Rock were captured. Then the persecuted and hunted Union men rallied from the mountains, the valleys, and the bottoms to swell the advancing columns of the Union army. Mr. Boles, although suffering from chills and fever three times a week, raised a company of one hundred men, and entered the 3d Arkansas Cavalry. He was elected captain of the company, and saw considerable service in picket, outpost, and scouting duty. He was with General Steele in his expedition to the southern part of the State at the time General Banks met his reverse on Red River. He was captured on that expedition while sick with measles. He was so sick as to be unable to walk or ride on horseback, and was hauled in a wagon with his hands tied together. On arriving at Camden, he was suffering greatly with thirst resulting from a raging fever. The guard obtained a bucket of water for him, but the rebel citizens of whom it was procured, finding that it was for Yankee prisoners, took the bucket and threw the water away. The sick prisoner almost perished with thirst before morning, but at daybreak the guard went to a little stream near by and dipped water in his hat with which to assuage the feverish thirst.

Mr. Boles was put in prison at Camden, where he lay sick, the officers not allowing a humane rebel surgeon of the post to take him to his hospital for treatment, as he proposed to do. A northern gentleman and his wife, living in Camden, learning that there were sick Union soldiers in prison, brought them teas and many delicacies. This was at first permitted by the guard, but when the commanding officers found it out they robbed the prisoner's friends of everytihng they had to subsist upon. Although Dr. Thompson, the humane rebel surgeon, was not permitted to take the sick prisoner to his hospital, he attended him closely in the prison, and by his kind treatment contributed to his partial restoration of health.

About an hour before the Union army took Camden, Mr. Boles was paroled. Proceeding to Little Rock, he was there again prostrated by sickness, and for some time his life was despaired of. After his recovery, he rejoined his command at Lewisburg, and served in that vicinity during the summer, and part of the fall, of 1864. His health again failing, upon the recommendation of the regimental surgeon, he resigned, but was unable to leave the hospital for nearly a month after his resignation.

During the absence of Mr. Boles in the army, his mother, a widow with several young children, was robbed by the rebels of nearly everything she had. They burned her beds and took the clothing of the children. Believing that she had some money, in order to compel her to disclose the place of its concealment, they set fire to the house; suspecting that the money was belted around her person, they tore off her dress, cut the belt and took the money. Although sick and almost blind, she then made her way to the Union post at Little Rock, over high mountains and across swollen streams, performing the painful journey of one hundred miles in two weeks.

As soon as he could leave the hospital after his resignation, Mr. Boles took his mother and her family into Illinois, and remained there with them until he regained his health. He returned to his old regiment in January, 1865, and, although he did not enlist again,

he performed the duty of a private soldier under command of men who had been his sergeants.

In June, 1865, soon after the cessation of hostilities, he was elected Judge of the Circuit Court for the Fourth Judicial District of Arkansas, and at once entered upon the duties of the office. The records and court-houses having nearly all been burned, the labor of reorganizing the courts was very arduous, but with the aid of able lawyers of both political parties, it was successfully accomplished.

Politically he took a position as a radical Republican, and gave his hearty endorsement to the congressional plan of reconstruction. Upon the reorganization of Arkansas, in March, 1868, under the Reconstruction acts, Mr. Boles was, without opposition, elected a Representative in the Fortieth Congress. In the fall of 1868, he was nominated for re-election, and made an active canvass in favor of Grant and Colfax.

The canvass was conducted with some personal peril in the southern portion of the district, which was infested by the notorious outlaw Cullen Baker and his band. The operations of these desperadoes made it necessary for Governor Clayton to send militia to quell disorder. The election resulted in favor of Mr. Boles by a majority of 3,967 votes.



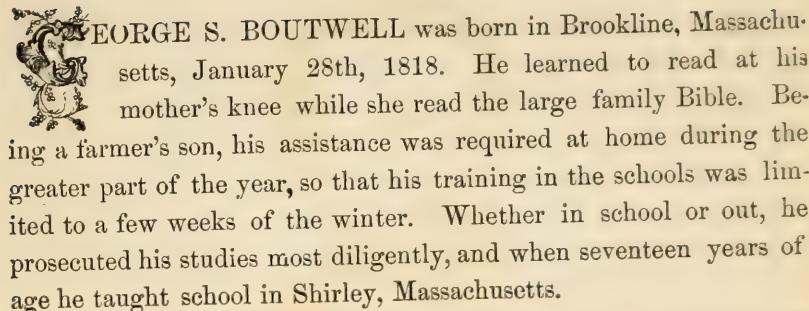
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Geo. S. Boutwell

HON. GEO. S. BOUTWELL,

U. S. SENATOR FROM MASSACHUSETTS.

GEORGE S. BOUTWELL.



GEORGE S. BOUTWELL was born in Brookline, Massachusetts, January 28th, 1818. He learned to read at his mother's knee while she read the large family Bible. Being a farmer's son, his assistance was required at home during the greater part of the year, so that his training in the schools was limited to a few weeks of the winter. Whether in school or out, he prosecuted his studies most diligently, and when seventeen years of age he taught school in Shirley, Massachusetts.

In March, 1835, he went to Groton and commenced business as clerk in a store. In the second story of the store there was kept an old but well-selected library. This was more fortunate for young Boutwell than the discovery of a mine of gold. In the absence of customers, and in the intervals of business, he read during the day. At nine o'clock, when the store was closed, he would repair to the library and read till overcome by drowsiness, when he would arouse himself by physical exercise, or plunging his head in a pail of water at hand for that purpose. He pursued the study of Latin and French, and made proficiency in other branches, such as gave him rank in scholastic attainments equal to that attained by college graduates. At the age of eighteen he entered his name in an attorney's office for the study of law, which he pursued with diligence in the intervals of business, for many years.

At nineteen he made his first public appearance in a lecture before the Groton Lyceum. In 1840 he entered with youthful ardor into politics, advocating the election of Mr. Van Buren. At the age of twenty-one he was elected a member of the School Committee of Groton, a large town of more than usual wealth and culture. In the same year he was the candidate of the Democratic party for the Leg-

islature, but failed to be elected. He was again nominated, however, and in 1842 was elected to the Legislature, in which he served for seven years. He soon became a leading member, surpassing all in thorough mastery of the subjects discussed, and in readiness and ability as a debater. He ably and successfully advocated the question of retrenchment of expenses, enlargement of the school fund, and Harvard College reform.

During his service in the Legislature Mr. Boutwell was also Railway Commissioner, Bank Commissioner, and three times a Democratic candidate for Congress. He also delivered numerous lyceum lectures and political addresses.

In 1851 he was elected Governor of Massachusetts, and held the office two terms. He was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1853, in which he was a recognized leader. Rufus Choate was his leading opponent. Early in the session, the subject of "Town Representation" being under consideration, Mr. Choate made one of his most characteristically eloquent speeches, which completely carried away the Convention. Mr. Boutwell rose to reply, surprising many with his apparent temerity in attempting to meet the most brilliant orator of the Whigs. But all apprehension of a damaging comparison or a failure soon passed away. He enchained the attention of the Convention, and maintained his cause with signal ability. He drafted and reported the Constitution, which was submitted to the people and adopted.

The same year Mr. Boutwell became a member of the State Board of Education, in which he remained ten years. For five years he was Secretary of the Board, meanwhile preparing its Annual Reports, and publishing a "Manual of the School System and School Laws of Massachusetts," and a volume on "Educational Topics and Institutions." In 1856 his literary and scientific attainments were recognized in his election as a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. From 1851 to 1860 he was a member of the Board of Overseers of Harvard College.

In 1853 Mr. Boutwell cast his last vote with the Democratic party, the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, in 1854, completely sunder-

ing his old political ties. He was a leader in the organization of the Republican party in Massachusetts.

In 1861, having been elected a member of the Phi Beta Kappa of Cambridge, he delivered the Commencement oration. With obvious propriety, political subjects are usually avoided on such occasions ; but such was the absorbing interest in national affairs, that the officers of the college and of the society requested him to discuss freely the state of the country. In the oration which followed, he showed that Slavery was the cause of the war, and demonstrated the justice and necessity of emancipation. It was so far in advance of the times as to receive severe censure, not only from Democrats, but from many Republicans. Published entire in many journals, and circulated throughout the country, it did much to hasten the great revolution in public sentiment which was essential to the suppression of the Rebellion.

The first time that Mr. Boutwell appeared in a public capacity outside of Massachusetts, was as a member of the celebrated Peace Congress, held in 1861, which failed to arrest the rebellion of the South. He was first Commissioner of Internal Revenue, from July, 1862 to March, 1863. During his incumbency of this office he organized the vast Revenue System of the United States.

Having been elected a Representative in Congress, he took his seat as a member of the House in March, 1863. He was appointed a member of the Judiciary Committee—an evidence of the high estimate in which his legal talent and attainments were held.

In the Thirty-ninth and Fortieth Congresses he was continued on this committee, and was a member of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction.

Making his first appearance in the national councils when the country was in the midst of a war of unexampled magnitude, he found a wide field opened before him for the exercise of his abilities. The Emancipation Proclamation of Mr. Lincoln, and all the war measures of the Administration, received his hearty support. When the enlistment of negroes was first resolved upon, he was among the foremost to encourage the policy, making several speeches in support

of what he regarded as a movement essential to a successful prosecution of the war. After the Rebellion had been suppressed, he was one of the earliest advocates of negro suffrage.

No one was more impatient with President Johnson's defection from the principles of the party by whom he had been elected; no one was more firmly convinced that he was guilty of crimes and misdemeanors deserving impeachment. As a Manager of the Impeachment Trial before the Senate, his sincerity, honesty, eloquence and erudition attracted the attention of the entire country.

Elected for the fourth time as a Representative from Massachusetts, Mr. Boutwell had just taken his seat in the Forty-first Congress when he was called by President Grant to a seat in the Cabinet, as Secretary of the Treasury. This appointment was recognized by the country as eminently wise and proper.

The new Secretary at once addressed himself to the work of regulating the complex and much disordered machinery of his Department. He began at the very opening of his administration of the Treasury to diminish the public debt. Notwithstanding the difficulties incident to entering upon a new financial policy, during his first three months in office he reduced the national indebtedness more than twenty millions of dollars.

Mr. Boutwell is a man of great force of character, power of mind and strength of will. With indomitable perseverance and rare sagacity, he has risen to a position of commanding influence. He is an impressive speaker, with distinct articulation and earnest manner. He is a vigorous thinker, convincing by the force of logic, rather than captivating with the charms of rhetoric. Whether as State executive, national legislator or cabinet officer, he is the same honest, popular and efficient statesman.



C. C. Bowen

C. C. BOWEN.



C. BOWEN was born in Providence, Rhode Island, January 5, 1832. Up to the age of twelve he enjoyed the benefit of schools in his native city, but about that period his parents removed to the State of Georgia, and settled in a community where such advantages were not enjoyed. Soon after this he was left an orphan, and thrown among strangers with no resources but his own energies. Until he grew to manhood, he was chiefly occupied in agricultural pursuits. He subsequently studied law with a prominent lawyer of Georgia, and then removed to Charleston, South Carolina, where he was admitted to practice, and soon attained a fair position at the bar and a profitable business. At the threshold of his advancement the great civil war was precipitated upon the country, which suspended business and professional pursuits throughout the South. Regretting the war, and the circumstances which brought it on, he exerted all his influence against secession, but when it came he entered the "Confederate" army, and remained with it to the close. He accepted a commission as captain in the Coast Guards, whose duty it was to keep watch and ward on the shores of the Atlantic and the inlets where a hostile force was liable to appear. He repeatedly refused promotions which would have led him into more active service against the Union.

Immediately after the close of the war, Mr. Bowen renewed the practice of his profession in Charleston, and was soon again immersed in a successful business. In the course of his practice he did much gratuitous professional service for the poor, which gave him wide and well-deserved popularity.

In the re-organization of political parties in the South in 1867, Mr. Bowen took an active part. He embraced the principles of Republicanism, and became a leader of that party in South Carolina. He devoted himself with zeal and efficiency to the organization of the Republican party in the State, and was elected a member of the first Republican Convention, which was held in Charleston, in May, 1867, for the purpose of framing and adopting a platform of principles and policy for the party in South Carolina. Mr. Bowen took a leading part in this Convention, and was selected by it as chairman of the First State Central Committee. In that capacity he directed the movements of the party in the State, and did much to promote its success.

In November, 1867, he was elected a member of the State Constitutional Convention. His abilities were recognized by his appointment as chairman of the most important Committee of the Convention—that on the Judiciary, and to his hand may be ascribed the Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh Articles of the Constitution, framed by that Convention.

In April, 1868, the people of his district appreciating Mr. Bowen's valuable services to the party and the State, elected him as a Representative in the Fortieth Congress. In November, 1868, he was re-elected by twenty thousand majority.

His course in Congress has been marked by an untiring devotion to the interests of his district and State. His speeches have been characterized by careful research and practical ability. His speech upon the Fifteenth Amendment received marked attention, and elicited much favorable comment from the press. His speech in favor of an appropriation for the Sisters of Mercy of Charleston received high commendation. He served in the Fortieth Congress, on the Committee on Freedmen's Affairs, and in the Forty-first Congress on the same committee, together with that on Invalid Pensions.

NATHANIEL BOYDEN.



NATHANIEL BOYDEN was born in Conway, Massachusetts, August 16, 1796. His father, John Boyden, Jr., was a soldier of the Revolution, and was on duty at West Point at the time of the attempted treason of Arnold. He entered Williams' College, in September, 1817, and graduated at Union College, Schenectady, in July, 1821. In the following year he removed to North Carolina, where he studied law, and was admitted to the bar in December, 1823. He then devoted himself assiduously to his profession, practising in the Supreme Court of North Carolina regularly for more than thirty years. He was repeatedly a member of the North Carolina State Legislature in both the House and Senate. In 1847 he was a Representative from North Carolina to the Thirtieth Congress in which he served on the Committee on Expenditures in the Navy Department. He declined a re-election for the purpose of devoting his whole time to his profession. After the close of the rebellion he aided in the reconstruction of his State, and as a Republican was elected a Representative to the Fortieth Congress. He was admitted to his seat July 13, 1868, taking the test oath in a modified form, he having served in the Legislature of North Carolina under the Confederate Government, and his disabilities thus incurred having been removed by act of Congress. He was appointed on the Committee on the Revision of the Laws of the United States, and took a prominent part in legislation during the brief period of his service in the Fortieth Congress. He participated in the discussions on the Funding bill, the Tax bill, and the bill to strengthen the public credit. When the subject of the tax on whiskey was under discussion, February 9, 1869, he spoke earnestly against the legislation which would tend to break up the small distilleries, which were numerous in his district.

BENJAMIN M. BOYER.

 BENJAMIN M. BOYER was born in Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, January 22, 1823. He was for some time a student of Lafayette College, at Easton, Pennsylvania; but afterwards graduated at the University of Pennsylvania. He read law at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, under the instruction of the late Judge Reed, and was admitted to the bar at that place. He began the practice of law, however, in his native county, for which he was District-Attorney from 1848 to 1850. Here he successfully pursued his profession, having several times declined judicial stations.

In politics, Mr. Boyer was a Whig until the dissolution of the Whig party, when he associated himself with the Democracy. In 1856, he voted for James Buchanan for President, against John C. Fremont, the Republican candidate, and since that date has always acted with the Democratic party.

In 1860, Mr. Boyer was an active supporter of Judge Douglas for the Presidency, and aided in establishing a campaign newspaper called the *National Democrat*, which was the organ of the Douglas Democracy of his county during the Presidential canvass of that year, and of which he was, until after the election, the principal editor.

Mr. Boyer, previously to the breaking out of the Southern rebellion, advocated conciliatory measures. But after the war had actually begun, he was an active and earnest advocate of the suppression of the rebellion by force of arms. In addresses to the people, of all parties, at various public meetings, as well as in communications through the press, he urged the energetic support of the Government, and the prompt enlistment of men.



B. M. Boyce

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Twice during the war, when Pennsylvania was invaded by the rebels, he raised a company of volunteers for the emergency, and, as their captain, served with them in the field, by which service he contracted an illness which nearly terminated his life.

In 1864, Mr. Boyer was elected to the Thirty-ninth Congress, and was re-elected in 1866. He has maintained with zeal and ability the usual Democratic view of the prominent questions which have come before that body.

In the Fortieth Congress, March 13, 1867, a joint resolution being under discussion in the House "for the relief of the destitute in the Southern and Southwestern States," Mr. Boyer said, "I trust that this joint resolution will be adopted; that it will be passed promptly, and with unanimity. I am not deterred from supporting it by the reasons given by the gentleman from Indiana, based upon the fact that those who are to be recipients of this bounty are the families of rebels, nor by the arguments of the two gentlemen from New York, that this fund is to be distributed through the Freedmen's Bureau.

* * * The time I trust will come at some future day when the people of this country, of all sections, shall again dwell together in peace and harmony. The time I hope will come, if not in this generation, at least in the next, when the foundations of our Government will again rest, as of old, in the affections and confidence of the whole people. That is the wisest legislation which hastens the consummation of this end so devoutly to be wished. That is the noblest as well as the wisest legislation which exhibits this great Government as a beneficent agent, clothed with mercy and magnanimity as well as with resistless power, able to enforce the authority of its laws against all opposers, but willing also to forgive, to protect, and to save."

In the second session of the Thirty-ninth Congress Mr. Boyer was a member of the committee on the New Orleans riots, and made the minority report on that subject. In the Fortieth Congress he was more prominent as a defender of the President than any other member of the minority. His speeches in defense of the President were extensively

circulated by his party. The first was delivered December 17, 1867, and was published under the title of "The President and Congress—The Impeachers Impeached." "What public man," he asked on this occasion, "exercising the office of President of the United States at so critical a period, could have undergone a scrutiny like that to which Andrew Johnson has been subjected, and emerged from the ordeal more scatheless than he? During more than eight months a secret inquisition assiduously labored to convict him of something, no matter what, so it would injure him in the estimation of mankind. His persecutors were able men, armed with the power of the nation, and suspected by no man of any disposition to spare the accused. The secret history of his public acts was explored, his most private relations invaded, his personal correspondence ransacked, the revelation of his most confidential conversations in his most unguarded moments required of his friends, his domestic life investigated, his pecuniary transactions overhauled, and even his private bank accounts examined. To get evidence against him the felon's cell was visited by honorable members of Congress, and testimony solicited at the hands of convicted perjurers. Spies and detectives were employed, traps set, money expended—but all in vain. Andrew Johnson, as man and President, stands higher this day in the estimation of his countrymen than when this investigation began. I would rather take his chance for honorable and enduring fame hereafter than that of the proudest and loftiest among all his enemies, persecutors, and slanderers.

"He was not the President of my choice. I did not vote for him. But I recognize in him a fearless defender of the Constitution, and as such I honor and defend him. As such, too, he will be remembered and honored by his countrymen when the political strife of these days shall be over, and when his administration of public affairs shall have passed into history."

Mr. Boyer made a speech in defense of the President at the banquet of the 8th of January, at the Metropolitan Hotel in Washington, in response to one of the regular toasts—"The President of the United States." On the 22d of February, Mr. Boyer made a legal

argument defending the President against the charges preferred in the Articles of Impeachment. Two of his later speeches in the House of Representatives were extensively circulated by his party as campaign documents, viz., that on "The Admission of Alabama," delivered March 17, 1868, and that of June 30, 1868, on "The Public Expenditures." From the first we make the following extracts:

"It is only by gradual descent through many downward steps that so low a depth of legislative depravity could possibly be reached. That the government of a negro minority should, without the consent and against the protest of the people, be inflicted by an American Congress upon a State in the American Union, is a spectacle too monstrous to be endured. * * * Is this the Union which this Republican Congress promised to restore when they summoned the nation to arms for the suppression of the rebellion? Did Congress not then proclaim, and was it not the rallying cry of the Northern hosts, and the hope of all patriots, that the Union should be restored with all the dignity, equality, and rights of the several States unimpaired? If such conditions of inferiority as are prescribed by the pending bill can be imposed by Congress upon a State in one particular, where is the limit to the absolute power of Congress to impose every other? But why should we be surprised? Is not one-third of the nation in chains, and has not this same Congress abolished the government of the people in ten States? * * * *

"For this nation there is but one way of salvation open. Abstract principles of law, justice, and morality are of little avail; and against the inexorable tyranny of party discipline it has been our sad experience to see the judgments and consciences of the more moderate men of the dominant party oppose but a feeble resistance. It is the people only who can arrest the usurpations which threaten to overwhelm and subvert the institutions of our country. And when we of the minority, who are so powerless in this Hall, are permitted to speak, we have no other resort than to appeal as best we can to that mighty audience outside the walls of this Capitol, who can, if they will, still save the Republic."

HENRY P. H. BROMWELL.



HENRY P. H. BROMWELL was born in Baltimore, Maryland, August 26, 1823. He removed in childhood to Ohio, and after remaining in that State seven years, in 1836 he emigrated with his parents to Illinois. After some time spent in English and classical studies, he prepared himself for the profession of law, and coming to the bar in 1853, practised in different parts of the State. From 1852 to 1854 he edited and published the "Age of Steam and Fire" at Vandalia. In 1853 he was elected judge of Fayette County, and held the office four years. In 1860 he was a Presidential Elector on the Republican ticket. In 1864 he was elected a Representative from Illinois to the Thirty-ninth Congress, during which he served on the Committees on Patents, Expenses in the State Department and the Civil Service. He was re-elected to the Fortieth Congress, and served on the Committee on Public Expenditures. He earnestly favored the impeachment of the President, and as early as July 11, 1867, used the following language in a speech to the House: "The people are weary with the delay in hunting up specialties and trifles when the grand glaring fact stares them in the face that the Chief Magistrate has met both the last and the present Congress with the assumption of complete legislative power, exercising every attribute of a despot in this country, while Congress stood still and submitted." He favored expansion of the currency, which he advocated in a speech delivered, as he asserted, in behalf of a "class very seldom represented on this floor by one of their own number, the 'old settlers,' whose hands have shared the toils of frontier life from youth, who know how to use the ax, the maul, the log-chain and the frow."



J. M. Brownell

JOHN M. BROOMALL.

HE ancestors of the subject of this sketch were Quakers, who emigrated from England among the early settlers of Pennsylvania. John M. Broomall was born in Upper Chichester, Delaware County, Pa., January 19, 1816. He received a classical and mathematical education in the select schools of the Society of Friends.

Mr. Broomall studied law, and practiced in his native county with success for twenty years. In politics he was in early life a Whig, and cast his first presidential vote, in 1840, for General Harrison.

Embracing the anti-slavery principles of the Society in which he was born, he opposed at the polls, in 1838, the adoption of the new constitution of Pennsylvania, which disfranchised the blacks. His subsequent votes, whether as a citizen or a Representative, have all been consistent with the one given on that occasion.

In 1851 and 1852, he served as a Representative in the Legislature of Pennsylvania, and was a member of the State Revenue Board in 1854. Two years later he attached himself to the Republican party. In 1860, he was a delegate to the Convention which nominated Abraham Lincoln, and was chosen a Presidential Elector in the election which followed.

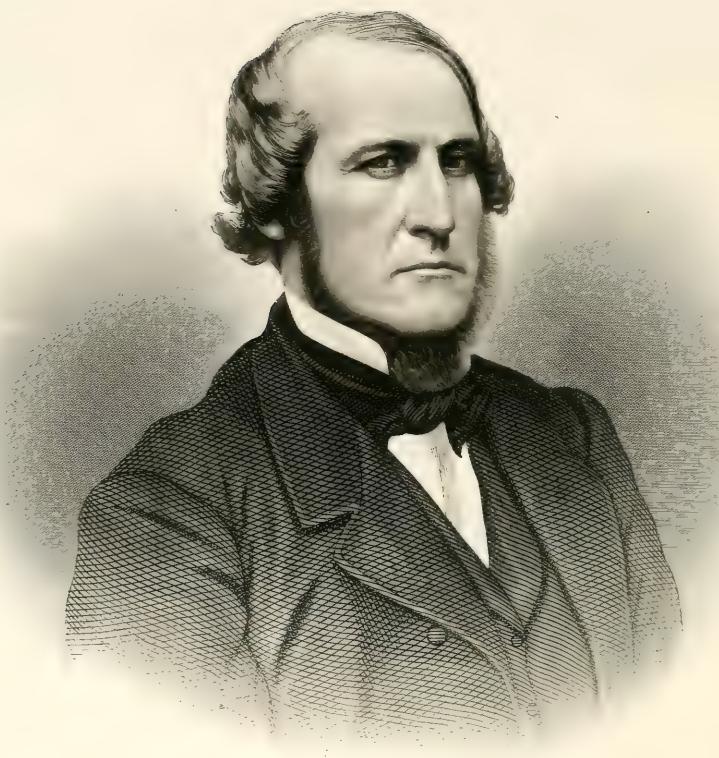
In 1862, he was elected a Representative in Congress from the Seventh Pennsylvania District. In 1864, and in 1866, he was re-elected. In 1868, he declined to be again a candidate, on account of the state of his health, and the condition of his private affairs.

He served on the Committees of Accounts and Public Expenditures, of the first of which he was Chairman during the Fortieth

Congress. During his entire Congressional service, Mr. Broomall has been counted among the extreme Radicals. Upon financial questions he always opposed the expansion of the currency, and advocated contraction as a means to the resumption of specie payments.

During Mr. Broomall's service in Congress he made a number of able and important speeches. On the 18th of March, 1868, he addressed the House on "The power and duty of the United States to guarantee to every State a republican form of government." In the course of this speech, he remarked :

"If the majority may lawfully disfranchise the minority on account of race or lineage, then may the citizens of South Carolina of African descent limit the elective franchise to themselves, to the exclusion of their white fellow-citizens. If in the form of government now being constituted there, such a limitation should be placed, who in this Hall or in the country would maintain that the Government is republican? Not a single vote could be obtained in either House of Congress for the admission of a State with such a constitution. Now, if it is not republican in South Carolina, where black men are in the majority, to limit the suffrage to black men, with what consistency shall we maintain that it is republican in Ohio, where white men are in the majority, to limit the suffrage to white men? Let us beware how we advocate the doctrine that the minority may be lawfully disfranchised on account of lineage, lest that doctrine be turned against ourselves, and lest for very shame we be obliged to submit."



James Brooks,
HON JAMES BROOKS.

PRINTED FOR M. DODD, 1846.

JAMES BROOKS.

AMES BROOKS was born in Portland, Maine, November 10, 1810. His father was captain and principal owner of a brig in the merchant service. His sea-faring life kept him almost constantly from home, hence his son was left to the sole care of a mother, who from her energy and excellence of character was well fitted for the responsible duty. While James was yet a child, the vessel which his father commanded was lost at sea with all on board. By this calamity Mrs. Brooks was made a widow and left penniless, for all the property of her husband was invested in the vessel.

The widow, now left as the sole support of herself and three orphan children, exerted herself with great energy to maintain her family.

James was sent to the public school, where he studied eagerly, and exhibited remarkable thirst for knowledge.

When eleven years old, a situation was obtained for him in a store at Lewiston, then a frontier village on the Androscoggin. By contract with his employer he was to remain in his service until he was twenty-one, when he should receive a hogshead of New England rum.

The store in which young Brooks was employed was a favorite resort of the village politicians of both parties, who came in the evening to hear the young clerk read the news. He gave them politics quite impartially, reading Whig doctrines from the *Portland Advertiser*, and throwing in a fair proportion of Democracy from the *Argus*. The town library was kept in the store in which young Brooks was employed, and this afforded him a free and wide range of attractive reading.

The employer of Brooks took a great interest in his young clerk. He gave him opportunities of trading a little on his own account, and encouraged him to save his money. Having discovered that James was desirous of obtaining an education, he kindly proposed to release him from all obligations of further service, and give him such assistance as he needed.. Young Brooks gratefully accepted the offer, and in a few days made arrangements to enter an academy at Monmouth, Maine. He had saved money enough to pay the moderate price of one dollar per week for board. Blessed with good health, and devoted to hard study, he soon accomplished his purpose of fitting himself for teaching school. He then returned to Lewiston, and taught a school for the winter at a salary of ten dollars per month and his board. The following spring he found himself rich enough to enter Waterville College. Since even a few shillings were important to him then, in going to Waterville he carried his own trunk, which was neither large nor heavy.

After pursuing his college studies for a year, he found it necessary to teach school in order to obtain money with which to continue his course. While teaching school, by hard study, he kept up his college studies ; and on his return, after a rigid examination, he was admitted to an advanced class.

After two years more of study, young Brooks graduated, and left college as he had come, three years before, carrying his trunk. He returned to his mother's house in Portland with just ninety cents in his pocket. Without giving himself so much as a day of respite or recreation, he at once began to search for employment. Learning that a Latin school, for some time established in Portland, was about to change its teacher, Brooks applied for the situation, and, unknown, without influential friends, obtained it as the result of a rigid examination. From this time Brooks made a home with his mother and her two younger children, protecting and caring for them with filial and almost paternal devotion.

Scarcely had Mr. Brooks become established in his school when he commenced the study of law with John Neal, a celebrated lawyer of

Portland, and well known as an author. This gentleman manifested great interest in his student, who no doubt obtained quite as much literary knowledge from the author as legal instruction from the lawyer.

Mr. Brooks soon after began to write anonymous letters for the *Portland Advertiser*, a daily Whig paper published by John Edwards. These articles were so popular that Mr. Edwards found out their author, and made him an offer of \$500 per annum to write constantly for his journal. This work Mr. Brooks continued for a whole year, keeping school and studying law at the same time.

At length it could no longer be concealed that he was in part editor of a leading partisan newspaper, and had taken sides against General Jackson. This rendered it impossible for him to perform the duties of a teacher to his own satisfaction, and from that time he devoted himself wholly to the *Advertiser*, entering heart and soul into political life.

At this time, though only twenty years old, Mr. Brooks began to attract attention as a political speaker, and soon became one of the most popular orators known to either party.

The year he was twenty-one, Mr. Brooks was elected to the Legislature of Maine. In addition to his legislative duties he wrote for the *Portland Advertiser*.

The next year he went to Washington, and commenced a series of letters from the national capital, thus inaugurating "Washington Correspondence," which has become a feature in the American press. These letters, being a novelty and full of spirited description, were extensively copied both in this country and in Europe.

When Congress adjourned, Mr. Brooks traveled through the South, and wrote a series of interesting letters descriptive of Southern life. This was in the days of South Carolina's nullification, against which these letters were trenchant and severe. The writer dealt with slavery also, taking strong grounds against the "institution." This fact was brought up and made a subject of sharp remark by Mr. Price, of Iowa, in the Thirty-eighth Congress. Mr. Brooks replied that he

saw no reason to change his opinions, though so many years had elapsed since the letters were written.

The success of Mr. Brooks's letters from Washington and the South induced him to form the novel plan of traveling over Europe on foot, and sending to the *Advertiser* descriptions of what he saw. Mr. Brooks sailed from New York for England in one of the fine packet ships of the time. With a knapsack on his back, and letters of introduction from the first men of America in his pocket, he traveled over England and made himself familiar with its people. One day he dined with some nobleman, and the next walked thirty miles and slept in the thatched cottage of a peasant. He wandered over the hills of Scotland, and among the green fields of Ireland, seeing everything, and describing with vivacity all he saw. He became acquainted with most of the great statesmen and authors of England. His description of his visit to the poet Wordsworth so interested the public that a splendid copy of his poems was forwarded to Mr. Brooks from the publishers, after his return home, as an acknowledgement of the fidelity and truthfulness of the letters.

From England Mr. Brooks went to France. He crossed the Alps on foot, and made himself familiar with Switzerland, Italy, and portions of Germany. The letters written during these travels attracted great attention to the paper for which they were written. They were extensively copied in this country, and were translated and re-copied abroad.

When Mr. Brooks returned to America, he remained some weeks in New York, and there offers were made him to establish a daily paper to be called the *New York Express*. Parties there proposed to furnish the capital for the paper, which was to offset the labor and talent which Brooks should supply as editor.

The people of Portland, being reluctant to part with a young man of so much promise, offered to nominate him for Congress if he would return to them. He accordingly returned to Portland, and became a candidate against F. O. J. Smith, a very popular man on the Democratic side, and a third candidate, whose name was Dunn.

The district had for years been a Democratic stronghold, but it was only on a third trial, Dunn having been persuaded to withdraw, that Smith was elected by a bare majority.

Mr. Brooks soon after returned to his incomplete enterprise in New York, and that year established the *New York Express*, a daily journal, of which he is principal owner at the present time. Disappointment met him at the outset. Persons who had promised to supply the funds for the new enterprise failed to meet their engagements, and it was by the most intense labor and personal privation that he struggled under the load of debt laid on him from the first. But he had health and strength, and that indomitable energy which nothing daunts or damps. He wrote leaders, acted as reporter, watched night after night for the arrival of ship news, and kept his journal up with an energy which the public soon began to recognize.

After a year or two the New York *Daily Advertiser*, published by William B. Townsend, was connected with the *Express*. Gradually but surely the journal advanced in popularity under the editorial management of Mr. Brooks, who had reached great political influence, and was one of the most popular speakers in the Whig party.

During the memorable political campaign of 1840, Mr. Brooks went to Indiana and stumped that State for Harrison. He became a great favorite and devoted friend of Harrison, and was one of the few friends admitted to his room during his fatal illness.

In the summer of 1841 Mr. Brooks was married to Mrs. Mary Randolph, a widow lady of Richmond, Virginia. Such was his dislike of slavery that he insisted that the emancipation of three or four household slaves belonging to her should precede the marriage ceremony.

In 1847 Mr. Brooks was elected to the State Legislature, and two years later was elected a Representative in Congress from New York. He served through the Thirty-first and Thirty-second Congresses, in which he distinguished himself by his eloquence of speech and effectiveness in debate. He was the associate and friend of

Webster, Clay, and other leading spirits in Congress at that time, and kept pace with them in the stirring legislative movements of that period. Clay's efforts in the great compromise measures of the time met with his efficient support in the House, where all the varied knowledge which he had acquired in his travels and in his editorial life became available in his career of statesmanship.

About this time Mr. Brooks purchased Mr. Townsend's interest in the *Express*, and took his younger brother into partnership in the establishment.

Soon after the close of the Thirty-second Congress Mr. Brooks made another tour on the continent, and subsequently went a third time across the ocean, extending his travels to Egypt and the Holy Land.

During these travels Mr. Brooks availed himself of the opportunities presented in each country of studying its language on the spot. He thus acquired the German, Spanish, and Italian, and perfected his knowledge of the French.

Thus alternating his editorial duties with extensive travels, Mr. Brooks passed several years until the excitements and issues of the civil war induced him to enter political life again. In the canvass for the election of a member of the Thirty-eighth Congress, Mr. Brooks started as an independent candidate, but in the end the Democratic nominee retired, and Mr. Brooks was elected by a large majority. He took his seat as a member of the Thirty-ninth Congress; but, after serving nearly through the long session, his seat was successfully contested by William E. Dodge. Surrendering his seat some time in April, Mr. Brooks was unanimously nominated for the Fortieth Congress, and was elected by a majority of six thousand votes.

During the autumn of 1867 Mr. Brooks was a member of the State Constitutional Convention.

In the Fortieth Congress Mr. Brooks is a member of the Reconstruction Committee and of the Committee of Ways and Means. Able in argument, eloquent in speech, and plausible in address, he is a leading spirit on the side of the minority.



Engraving by G. F. Chevalier

R.W. Buckland

RALPH P. BUCKLAND.

UR recent civil war, the war of 1812, and that of the American Revolution, are all associated with the history of the subject of this sketch and his immediate ancestors. His grandfather was a captain of artillery in the Revolutionary War, from East Hartford, Connecticut. He was taken prisoner by the British, and died in the Jersey prison-ship, near New York. His father went from Massachusetts to Portage County, Ohio, as a surveyor, in 1811. He enlisted as a volunteer in Hull's army, was surrendered at Detroit, and died at Ravenna, Ohio, a few months after his return home, from disease contracted in the service.

Ralph Pomeroy Buckland was born in Leyden, Massachusetts, January 20, 1812. His father, a short time before his death, had conveyed his family to the West, and settled them in the wilderness of Ohio. His premature death left them in dependent circumstances.

Ralph was dependent upon the exertions of his mother and the kindness of friends for support until he was old enough to earn a living by his own labor. He had the advantage of attending the common schools of the country during the winter, and attended the academy at Talmadge during the summer of 1830. In the following autumn he went down the Mississippi River, stopping a few months at Natchez, where he found employment as a clerk. In the spring of 1831 he was sent by his employers to New Orleans in charge of two flat-boats loaded with flour. He remained at New Orleans as clerk of the cotton house of Harris, Wright & Co. until the summer of 1834, when he returned to Ohio, spent a year at Kenyon College, and studied law with Gregory Powers at Middlebury, and Whittlesey &

Newton at Canfield, and was admitted to the bar in the spring of 1837. During the time he was at New Orleans his leisure moments were occupied in prosecuting his studies and in learning the French language. In the summer of 1837 he commenced the practice of his profession at Fremont, Ohio, where he now resides.

In January, 1838, he was married to Miss Charlotte Boughton, of Canfield, Ohio. In 1855 he was elected to the State Senate, and re-elected in 1857, serving four years.

In October, 1861, he began to organize the Seventy-second Regiment of Ohio Volunteer Infantry, which in three months was fully equipped and ready for the field. Soon after entering upon active service, Colonel Buckland was assigned to the command of the Fourth Brigade of Sherman's Division.

On the 7th of March, 1862, he moved up the Tennessee River, and on the 17th encamped at Pittsburg Landing—the left of his brigade resting at Shiloh Church. On the 3d of April he made a reconnaissance with his brigade four miles to the front, and on the 4th he participated in a skirmish with some of the enemy's advanced forces. On the morning of the 6th, Colonel Buckland's brigade was in line full one hour before the hard fighting began. He advanced his lines about two hundred yards on the left and about four hundred yards on the right, and met the enemy. The fighting was desperate for two hours. During this time the colonel was riding along the line encouraging his men by word and example, the rebels being repeatedly driven back. Colonel Buckland's brigade maintained its ground until ordered back by General Sherman. He was heavily engaged during the second day, and was continually in the saddle.

On one occasion, being ordered to advance his brigade under a very severe fire of artillery and musketry from the enemy, one of his color-bearers hesitated to advance. Colonel Buckland rode to the front, seized the colors, and planted them at the desired point. His brigade instantly advanced, with cheers.

General Lew. Wallace remarked on Tuesday morning, while riding over the ground which the brigade had occupied, that, "judging from

the dead bodies, here seems to have been the best and the hardest fighting."

Colonel Buckland continued in command of the brigade during the advance on Corinth until about the middle of May, when he was succeeded by General J. W. Denver. At Memphis, Tennessee, he was assigned to the command of a brigade in General Lauman's division, and formed part of the Tallahatchie Expedition.

As soon as the news reached General Grant that General Van Dorn had taken Holly Springs, General Buckland was sent with his brigade to retake the place. This having been accomplished, he was sent to drive Forrest from his camp at Dresden, West Tennessee.

On the 20th of March he joined General Sherman's corps in front of Vicksburg, and participated in the series of battles which occurred in the movement to the rear of that place. During the siege he was always active and vigilant, and at times much exposed. On the 22d of May he led his brigade down the grave-yard road, marching on foot to support the assault on the enemy's works, exposed to a murderous fire of artillery and musketry. Although General Buckland was constantly exposed until all his regiments were in position, and his men were shot down around him in great numbers, he escaped unhurt.

General Buckland remained with his command in the rear of Vicksburg after the surrender until the 1st of October, when his right arm was broken by the falling of his horse. By this injury he was incapacitated for active field service, but continued to command his brigade, except for a short time, until on the 26th of January, 1864, he was assigned to the command of the District of Memphis, where his administrative abilities were exemplified and his integrity of character was clearly manifested.

At the time of the Forrest raid into the city, General C. C. Washburne commanded that department, with his headquarters at Memphis. General Buckland had command of the troops in the city. Most of the troops had been sent in pursuit of Forrest under command of General A. J. Smith. Forrest eluded Smith near Oxford, Mississippi,

made a rapid march to Memphis, captured the cavalry patrol, rushed over the infantry pickets, and was in Memphis before daylight, took possession of General Washburne's headquarters, capturing his staff officers, clerks, and guards—the General escaping to the fort below the city. When General Buckland was awakened by the sentinel at the door, the rebels were in possession of a considerable part of the city, and on all sides of General Buckland's headquarters. General Buckland rallied about one hundred and fifty men quartered near him, caused a small alarm-gun to be rapidly fired, and instantly attacked the rebels at General Washburne's headquarters, although they out-numbered him four to one. General Buckland very soon concentrated all his forces, which were stationed in different parts of the city, and followed up his attack so rapidly and with such spirit that in less than an hour he had driven every rebel out of the city, and attacked General Forrest's main force just outside; and after a sharp fight of about one hour General Forrest was in full retreat, having entirely failed in the object of his attack on Memphis. But for General Buckland, Forrest would have held the city and captured immense stores of Government property.

General Buckland remained in command of the post at Memphis until December 24, 1864, when he resigned his commission.

Without having sought or expected political favor, he had been nominated for Representative in the Thirty-ninth Congress while still serving in the army. Without having gone home to further his interests, he had been elected by the people of the Ninth District of Ohio. In obedience to their wishes he left the military for the civil service of the country. During the Thirty-ninth Congress he served on the Committee on Banking and Currency and on the Militia. In 1866 he was re-elected to Congress, in which he is now giving his country and constituents the same conscientious faithful service which marked his military career.



C. W. Buckley

CHARLES W. BUCKLEY.



CHARLES W. BUCKLEY was born in Unadilla, Otsego County, New York, February 18, 1835. In 1846, with his father's family he removed to Freeport, Illinois. He was educated at Beloit College, graduating with the highest honors of his class. He engaged for a time in teaching, and subsequently graduated at the Union Theological Seminary, of New York. He was ordained by the Fourth Presbytery of New York, and was appointed chaplain in the Union army, November, 1863, serving in that capacity until the close of the war. After the surrender he served two years as superintendent of education for the Bureau of Refugees and Freedmen for the State of Alabama. He was an early and strong advocate of colored suffrage and general education. He was elected by the Republicans of Montgomery County a member of the State Convention, which assembled November 5, 1867, under the Reconstruction Acts, to frame a constitution for Alabama. In this convention he served as chairman of the Committee on Public Institutions, and as a member of the Committee on Education. His efforts were especially directed to the work of framing into the constitution of the State that outline of a free public school system which, in its subsequent development, has brought the opportunities of a good common school education within the reach of every child of the State, without distinction of race, color, or previous condition.

In February, 1868, he was elected a Representative to the Fortieth Congress from the Second District of Alabama, and took his seat upon the re-admission of Alabama to the Union, July 21, 1868. He was unanimously renominated by the Republican party of his district as Representative to the Forty-first Congress, and was elected by 4,147 majority.

ALBERT G. BURR.

LBERT G. BURR is a native of Illinois, and was born in the year 1829. Receiving a good education he entered on the study of law, and practiced his profession. In 1861 he was elected a member of the Illinois Legislature. He was a member in the following year of the State Constitutional Convention, and was the author of the address to the people accompanying the new Constitution. He was re-elected to the State Legislature in 1863, and in 1866 was elected to the Fortieth Congress, and was placed on the Committee on Revolutionary Pensions and of the War of 1812, and also on the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

In his speeches on the supplementary Reconstruction bill, Mr. Burr strongly opposed the Reconstruction measures as overthrowing the State governments, as establishing a military despotism in the South, as a usurpation of power on the part of Congress, and utterly unconstitutional. To the dominant party he addressed himself, "Go on in your wild fanaticism; proselyte with the bayonet; persuade through the potent voice of 'commanders,' give efficiency to party decrees in general orders; tear down with impious hands the fabric of your fathers, and rear in its stead the ungainly structure which will result from your labors of Reconstruction."

Among other speeches of Mr. Burr in this Congress was that on strengthening the public credit, also a speech on the finances of the country. As might be expected, Mr. Burr was a strong opposer of the measures relating to the impeachment of President Johnson, and his speech on the subject ably presented the general views of the opposition in regard to this grave question. Mr. Burr was an active and able member on the Democratic side of the House of Representatives, and his return by his constituents to the Forty-first Congress evinces the estimation which they placed upon his energy, vigilance, and faithfulness.



Benj. F. Butler

BENJAMIN F. BUTLER.

BENJAMIN F. BUTLER was born in Deerfield, New Hampshire, November 5, 1818. Five months afterwards, his father, a sea-captain, died at one of the West India Islands. Thus he grew up a fatherless boy, and in early childhood was slender and sickly. Yet he early evinced a fondness for reading, and eagerly availed himself of whatever books came within his reach. His memory from childhood was extraordinary, and he was fond of pleasing his mother by committing and reciting to her long passages—once, indeed, the entire Gospel of Matthew. This extraordinary gift of memory he is said to retain in full force to the present day.

At ten years of age his mother removed to Lowell, Massachusetts, that she might find better privileges for schooling her children. Benjamin improved well his opportunity; graduating duly into the High School, and thence into Exeter Academy, where he completed his preparation for college. After some deliberation it was decided to send him to Waterville College, Maine. He was at this time sixteen years of age, and is represented as being a youth of small stature, infirm health, and fair complexion, while as to his mental qualities he was “of keen view—fiery, inquisitive, fearless,” with ardent curiosity to know, and a perfect memory to retain. In college he excelled in those departments of the course in which he took a more especial interest, as for example the several branches of natural science, giving only ordinary attention to the rest. Meantime he read extensively, devouring books by the multitude.

At graduating he was but a weak, attenuated young man, weighing short of a hundred pounds. At the same time he was entirely dependent upon himself, and obliged to carve out his own fortune. To improve his health he accompanied an uncle on a fishing excur-

sion to the coasts of Labrador, when, after a few weeks, he returned strong and well.

He now commenced vigorously his life-work. Entering a law office at Lowell he pursued the study of the law with all his might, teaching school a portion of the time to aid in defraying his expenses; and such was his diligence at this period that he was accustomed to work eighteen out of the twenty-four hours. Meanwhile he indulged in no recreation save military exercises, for which he betrayed an early predilection, and served in the State militia in every grade, from that of the private up to brigadier-general.

Mr. Butler was admitted to the bar in 1840, at twenty-two years of age. As a lawyer "he won his way rapidly to a lucrative practice, and with sufficient rapidity to an important leading and conspicuous position." As an opponent, he was bold, diligent, vehement, and inexhaustible. It was his well-settled theory, that his business was simply and solely to serve the interests of his client. "In some important particulars," says his biographer, "General Butler surpassed all his contemporaries at the New England bar. His memory was such that he could retain the whole of the very longest trial without taking a note. His power of labor seemed unlimited. In fertility of expedient, and in the lightning quickness of his devices to snatch victory from the jaws of defeat, his equal has seldom lived." "A verdict of guilty," says another, "is nothing to him; it is only the beginning of the case. He has fifty exceptions; a hundred motions in arrest of judgment; and, after that, the *habeas corpus* and personal replevin." Hence, his professional success was extraordinary; and, when he left his practice to go to the war, he is said to have had a larger business than any other lawyer in the State. After ten years of practice at Lowell he opened an office in Boston also, and went thither and back punctually every day; and so lucrative had his business become at the beginning of the war, that it was worth, at a moderate estimate, \$18,000 annually.

Yet General Butler was among the first, if not the very first of Northern men, to discern the coming of war, and to sound the note of preparation to meet it, and to leave behind his business, large and

profitable as it was, and fly to the rescue. From the beginning of his career he had been one of the most determined and earnest of Democrats. He had been a leader of his party in Massachusetts, although a leader of a "forlorn hope." Yet when the great crisis came on he seemed at once to rise above party and party politics, and to think of nothing but crushing the rebellion, and crushing it, too, with speedy and heavy blows. Ascertaining, on a visit to Washington, the designs of the Southern leaders, he warned them that those designs would lead to war; that the North would resist them to the death; and notified them that he himself would be among the first to draw the sword against the attempt to break up the Union. Returning home, he immediately conferred with Governor Andrew, assuring him that war was imminent, and that no time should be lost in the great matter of preparation, and that the militia of Massachusetts should be ready to move at a day's notice. The Governor acquiesced, and through the winter months, daily, except Sundays, military drilling was the order of the day, and other necessary preparations of war were diligently prosecuted. Thus when, in the succeeding spring, the first and fatal blow fell, Massachusetts was ready, and at the call of the Government several full regiments were in a few hours on their way to Washington, under the command of General Butler. Then in quick succession we hear of the murderous attack on one of the regiments as it passed through Baltimore, of the landing of the 8th Massachusetts at Annapolis, of the march thence to Washington, of the quiet occupation by General Butler of the city of Baltimore and the consequent distress of poor old General Scott, of the approval of President Lincoln of Butler's promotion to the major-generalship, and of his assuming command of Fortress Monroe. During his brief command at this important post he exerted himself strenuously to bring order out of confusion. He extended his lines several miles inland, and was eager for a strong demonstration upon Virginia from this point as a base of operations, but his views failed of acquiescence by the Government. It was while in this command that General Butler originated the shrewd device of pronouncing as *contrabands* the slaves that escaped into his lines from

the neighboring country. The epithet was at once seen to be appropriate as it was skillful, as by the enemy the blacks were esteemed as property; and as such property was used for aiding the rebellion, General Butler rationally concluded that it might be more properly employed in helping to crush it. Hence, this new species of contraband property, instead of being returned to its alleged owners, was retained and set to work for the Government.

On his recall from the command of Fortress Monroe, General Butler requested and obtained leave to recruit six regiments in the several New England States. With these new forces he was commissioned, in conjunction with the naval squadron under command of Captain Farragut, to capture the city of New Orleans. The combined military and naval forces were at the mouths of the Mississippi in April of 1862. Between them and New Orleans was 105 miles; and 30 miles up the river, one on each bank, and nearly opposite each other, were the two impregnable forts, Jackson and St. Philip, together with a huge chain cable, supported by anchored hulks, stretched sheer across the river. Added to these obstructions was, just above the fort, a fleet of armed steam vessels, ready to aid in disputing every inch of the terrible passage. After several days of severe bombarding, however, with but small impression upon either fort, having succeeded in sundering the cable, the fleet, under cover of night, yet with a raking fire from the forts and an engagement with the rebel squadron, passed the terrible batteries with comparatively small loss, and proceeded triumphantly up to the city. The transport steamers, still at the river mouths, were then put in motion, and by a back passage General Butler landed the troops in the rear of the two forts, which with but little further resistance were surrendered, and their garrisons paroled. Then presently the General, having manned the forts with loyal troops, followed the fleet to the city, of which he took immediate possession, the rebel troops stationed there having retired precipitately.

In New Orleans, General Butler was the right man in the right place. His government may not have been faultless; yet, if bringing order out of confusion, if providing for forty thousand starving

poor, if the averting of pestilence by cleaning the filthy streets and squares and canals of the city, if giving the loyal citizens freedom of election, such as they never had before, and causing justice to be impartially administered, if restoring to freedom slaves subjected to the most horrible oppression, if imparting salutary lessons on morals and manners to traitorous officials and ministers, and rebellious and impudent women—if these and a hundred other kindred measures were commendable and good, then was General Butler's career at New Orleans praiseworthy and eminently beneficial. Nor is it any mean confirmation of such statement that on being recalled by the Government, no word or hint was ever given him why such recall was ordered.

During a few months which followed, General Butler, though without a command, was not idle, but ably supported the Government by public speeches in various places. His executive ability was soon called into requisition in the military command of New York, which was lately the scene of the terrible “draft riots.”

In the spring of 1864 he was assigned to the command of the Army of the James. He was expected to pave the way for the capture of Petersburg and Richmond by the capture of the intermediate position of Bermuda Hundred, which he speedily accomplished. In the assault on Petersburg General Butler and General Kautz gallantry carried out their parts of the plan, but the enterprise was unsuccessful, from the fact that General Gilmore failed to co-operate with the force at his command. We find General Butler patiently and laboriously striving to effect the fall of Richmond, whether by hard work at Dutch Gap or successful fighting at Deep Bottom and Strawberry Plains. We next see him commanding the land forces to co-operate with a naval squadron under Admiral Porter in an expedition against Wilmington. Arriving before Fort Fisher December 24, the squadron opened a terrific fire. The day following the land forces were disembarked, and a joint assault was ordered by sea and land. Upon moving forward to the attack, however, General Weitzel, who accompanied the column, came to the conclusion, from a careful reconnoisance of the fort, that “it would be butchery to order an as-

sault." General Butler, having formed the same opinion from other information, re-embarked his troops and sailed for Hampton Roads. Upon his return to the James River he was relieved from the command of the Army of the James, and ordered to report to Lowell, Massachusetts, his residence.

Returning to civil life, General Butler was triumphantly elected Representative from Massachusetts to the Fortieth Congress, and re-elected to the Forty-first Congress. In the House of Representatives he has distinguished himself for activity and industry, and for skill and readiness in debate. He was prominent as a Radical, and assumed a leading position against the views and policy of President Johnson. In the impeachment of that functionary he was designated as one of the managers for the people, and performed his part in that grave transaction with signal ability.

In conclusion, while we do not contemplate General Butler as among the most faultless and prudent of men, we cannot at the same time refrain from assigning him an elevated rank among the heroic and distinguished spirits of his generation. He is emphatically a "man of mark," a man whose perceptions are keen and quick to an extraordinary degree, faithful and ready in expedients, sprightly and active beyond most men—of strong and determined purpose—ambitious, but true as steel in his patriotism—a man to have enemies, but friends also equally numerous and equally strong—a man like few others, yet just such a one as is needed under peculiar and extraordinary circumstances—a man bold, fearless, prompt, ingenuous, talented, able, persistent, and efficient.



R.R. Butler

1870. A. & C. H. Black, 10, Pall Mall, London.

RODERICK R. BUTLER.

 RODERICK R. BUTLER was born at Wytheville, Virginia, April 8, 1827, was the youngest son of George Butler of Fincastle, Virginia, and grandson of Rev. J. G. Butler, who for many years was pastor of the Lutheran Church in Cumberland, Maryland.

At the age of thirteen the subject of this sketch was bound an apprentice to the tailor's trade. At eighteen he emigrated to East Tennessee, and settled in Taylorsville, Johnson County, where he has ever since resided. Arriving at his majority he studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1853, and practised his profession with success. From his youth he was a Whig in politics, and acted uniformly with that party until he became a Republican. His first public office was that of postmaster for Taylorsville, which he received by appointment from President Fillmore. In 1856 he was elected county judge. In 1859 he was elected a member of the Lower House of the Tennessee Legislature. Having been re-elected, he was a member of that body at the breaking out of the rebellion, and took a firm stand in favor of the Union. He was one of fifteen who voted in the Legislature against the formation by Tennessee of a military league with the "Confederate States." He was arrested in 1862, taken to Knoxville, and tried for treason against the "Confederate States," but owing to the absence of a witness was not convicted. He was seized a second time on a similar charge, but through the intervention of friends was released, and made his way through the rebel lines into Kentucky.

He was authorized by General Burnside to raise a regiment for the Union army, which he partially recruited when he was ordered to unite with Col. John K. Miller of the 13th Tennessee Cavalry, of

which he was commissioned as lieutenant-colonel. He was a delegate to the Baltimore Convention in 1864, and cast his vote, as instructed, for Lincoln and Johnson. He was elected a State Senator in April, 1865, and in the following June was appointed judge of the First Judicial Circuit, which office he held until November, 1867.

He was elected to the Fortieth Congress as a Republican, in opposition to the policy of President Johnson, whose residence was within his district, receiving a majority of eleven thousand votes. Mr. Butler was re-elected to the Forty-first Congress by an almost unanimous vote of the district, only about one hundred and fifty votes being polled against him. Johnson County, in which he resides, did not cast a vote against him, and gave but one vote for Seymour and Blair.

His seat in the Fortieth Congress having been contested on the ground that he was a member of the Tennessee Legislature under the rebel government, Mr. Dawes, chairman of the Committee on Elections, after having fully investigated the case, bore the following emphatic testimony:

“There is presented in the person of Mr. Butler a remarkable instance of a man of position in the community in which he resided, of influence among his fellow-men, of such mind and character and attainments among his fellow-citizens as to exert a wide-spread influence for good or for evil, who, at the outbreak of the rebellion never trembled in the balance between Union and disloyalty, but stepped out from associations and from influences calculated to draw him into the vortex of the rebellion and broke away from such influence, and facing the danger and peril of the hour, actuated by patriotism as pure, as disinterested, as self-sacrificing, and efficient as ever actuated any gentleman occupying a position where he could make his mark or his influence felt in the great struggle through which we have passed.”

A resolution was passed by Congress relieving Mr. Butler from his alleged disabilities. In the Fortieth Congress was a member of the Committee on the Revision of the Laws of the United States.



H. L. Cake

HON. HENRY L. CAKE.

OF NEW YORK.

HENRY L. CAKE.



HENRY L. CAKE was born in Northumberland, Pennsylvania, October 6, 1827. After receiving such education as was afforded by the public schools of his native village, he applied himself to learning the art of printing, first in the office of the "State Capital Gazette," and afterwards in the office of the "Democratic Union," at Harrisburg. In 1846 he joined some of his companions in raising a company in Harrisburg for the war in Mexico, but, after the company was accepted, he was kept at home by the interference of his relatives. He afterwards worked in the office of the "Pottsville Emporium," and subsequently went to Philadelphia, where, as a journeyman printer, he worked successively in the offices of the "Daily Chronicle," and the "Daily Pennsylvanian," and in the establishment of Messrs. L. Johnson & Co.

In the spring of 1849 he was employed in the coal business by the Forest Improvement Company, and removed to Schuylkill County. After remaining in the service of that company a year, he purchased a small interest in a coal-screen factory in Pottsville, and took the personal management of the works.

In June, 1854, he was elected brigadier-general of the 1st Brigade, 6th Division, Uniformed Pennsylvania Volunteers, and served five years, during which term there was much interest manifested in his brigade, which was the strongest in the State.

An active politician, his lot had been cast with the Democratic party by reason of his associations, but having early become imbued with the principles of protection to home industry, the Democracy could never safely calculate upon his assistance, when it put forward candidates who were not decided tariff men.

The passage of the Omnibus bill by Congress in 1850, followed by

the Kansas-Nebraska bill in 1854, induced him to secure an interest in the Democratic newspapers in Pottsville, the "Emporium" and the "Mining Register," in order to influence them in attempting to preserve the status of the party. The attempt to force the Lecompton constitution into the platform divided the Democratic party, and, in 1860, Mr. Cake took a prominent part in the canvass for Douglas, denouncing all who favored even a temporary compromise with the Breckenridge wing of the party.

The weekly issue of his paper, the "Pottsville Mining Record," was a constant warning, from 1858 until the war began, that the politicians of the South, encouraged by mistaken Democratic leaders throughout the North, meant to rebel against the government. To his mind the Democratic party was deliberately and wilfully destroyed, in order that an excuse for rebellion might ensue in the election of Mr. Lincoln. So fully had this thought taken possession of his mind, that he tried to induce his military associates to form, arm, and drill a regiment for active service when called upon; but his own time being engrossed in the attention required by a constantly-increasing business, which included the mining and shipping of coal, the management of two factories, a store, and printing establishment, the suggestion was not carried out. But to his efforts mainly was due the fact that his own company, the Pottsville National Light Infantry, was kept together. The armory of the infantry was in the hall over his store and counting-house. He was captain of the company during the time he was at the head of the brigade, but for two years previous to the rebellion it was commanded by his friend Capt. Edmund McDonald, Gen. Cake holding only the rank of first corporal in the organization.

On the evening of Thursday, April 11, 1861, the company met to perfect the details of its annual concert, to come off on the first Monday in May. After the business for which the meeting had been called was disposed of, Gen. Cake, who had returned that evening from a hurried business visit to New York and Philadelphia, stated that the firing on the "Star of the West" in Charleston harbor had

precipitated the civil conflict he had dreaded, but deemed inevitable, and constantly predicted for two years past; that, in his opinion, it was going to surpass the most terrible war on record, and that for those who intended to take part in it there would be some honor in being first in the field. Every man present at once volunteered. A committee was appointed (Capt. E. W. McDonald, Lieut. Louis J. Martin, and Gen. Cake), to forward the resolutions offering the services of the company to Gen. Cameron, Secretary of War, at Washington, and to Gov. Curtin, at Harrisburg. The duty was performed that night. The next morning the recruiting flag was hoisted over the armory, and J. Addison McCool, F. W. Conrad, and other employees of Gen. Cake were started, with drums and flags, in a four-horse band-wagon, and the business of war was commenced in Pottsville. That day Sumter fell. The next, Saturday, April 13, Gen. Cameron telegraphed the acceptance of the company. Recruiting was brisk. On Monday, the 15th, the call for 75,000 troops was published in all the newspapers, and the Secretary of the Commonwealth, Hon. Eli Slifer, telegraphed the acceptance of the company. In the meantime, the always successful rival of the infantry, the Pottsville Washington Artillery, was not idle. Capt. James Wren telegraphed the offer of its services to Harrisburg, which were accepted by Mr. Slifer within two hours after he had accepted the infantry. Both companies were ordered to Harrisburg on Wednesday, April 17, where they met the Ringgold Artillery, of Reading, the Logan Guards, of Lewistown, and the Allen Infantry, of Allentown. At six o'clock on the morning of Thursday, April 18, these troops were mustered into the service of the United States, and immediately ordered off to Washington by way of York and Baltimore. Soon after the train left York a telegram was received stating that it would be impossible to march through Baltimore without a conflict with the mob, and when it arrived within twenty-five miles of Baltimore the authorities of that city ordered it to stop, stating that the news of the approaching train with volunteers for Washington had excited the mob to frenzy. The train was thereupon shoved into

a siding. If a conductor had been on the train he had disappeared, and no one in authority could be found to be consulted. At this juncture, Capt. McDonald, at the instance of Gen. Cake, called a meeting of the officers, and stated that he was going on with his company if he had to take charge of the engine and one car for the purpose. He was promptly joined in the resolution by all the officers in the battalion, and the train was put in motion and kept on its way, notwithstanding the menacing telegrams received from Baltimore at every station. Upon arriving at the Calvert street station the crowd was so dense and demonstrative that the motion was reversed and the train was shoved back to the Bolton station, where the battalion was formed in line before the excited Baltimorians arrived. The men had been cautioned not to answer any abuse or threats, nor to resent any demonstration short of actual violence. In case of attack they were to remain close together, and they had that confidence in themselves that would have rendered it hazardous to block their passage through the city. All the violence that could be offered by words was heaped upon them, and some stones and clubs were thrown ; but the quiet, orderly, and determined march of that five hundred men, for the most part unarmed and ununiformed, had much of menace in it, and though the mob felt sure of the sympathy of the police, who made a show of guarding the flanks, the battalion reached the Washington depot in good time, and arrived in Washington before dark—where they were hailed by thousands of the loyal sojourners as the saviors of the capitol, and were quartered in the halls of the Senate and House of Representatives. The Massachusetts troops arrived twenty-four hours afterwards.

Thus, on the 18th of April, the first soldiers had reached Washington from the North. Mr. Cake having been formally elected, that morning, before being mustered into service, to fill the vacancy existing in his company for second lieutenant, he was further promoted on the 1st of May following, by the unanimous vote of officers and men, colonel of the regiment, which, instead of being called "1st," which it was, in fact, was numbered the "25th" of the Pennsylvania line.

Arriving at Washington with the first soldiers that enlisted for the defence of the nation, Gen. Cake can justly claim to be the first Northern man to raise the flag in active service against the rebellion.

After serving three and a half months the 25th was mustered out, and its colonel was authorized to reorganize his regiment at Pottsville, which was rapidly accomplished, and he again took the field at the head of the 96th Pennsylvania. His command took part in every battle fought by the army of the Potomac, and gained, under him, a reputation for endurance, discipline, and courage that it never lost. During the time that he served, whether in command of the regiment, brigade, or division, he shared all the dangers and hardships of his men.

He resigned his commission in the summer of 1863, in order to save a very fine property from destruction. He devoted himself with energy to business, and became president of the Philadelphia Coal Company, one of the most successful enterprises in the anthracite region, owned exclusively by himself and his partner.

He was the Union candidate of Schuylkill County for the Pennsylvania State Senate, in 1861, and again, in 1864. He was elected, as a Republican, to the Fortieth Congress for the Tenth District of Pennsylvania, in 1866. His predecessor was a Democrat, and his district was regarded as devotedly Democratic, yet Gen. Cake in Congress acted with the most radical Republicans, being among the first to demand the impeachment of President Johnson, and he was rewarded by his constituents with a re-election by an increased majority.

JOHN B. CALLIS.



JOHN B. CALLIS was born in Fayetteville, North Carolina, January 3, 1828. He removed to Carroll County, Tennessee, in 1834, and thence to Wisconsin in 1840, where he received a common school education, and engaged in business pursuits. Soon after the breaking out of the rebellion, he entered the Union army as a captain in the 7th Wisconsin, and was promoted in 1862 to be lieutenant-colonel of the same regiment, in which he served until he was badly wounded in the battle of Gettysburg, July, 1, 1863, and was consequently honorably mustered out, December 29, 1863. He entered the Veteran Reserve Corps in 1864, and was on duty in Washington, District of Columbia, as superintendent of the War Department until December, 1865. He was brevetted brigadier-general of volunteers, March 7, 1864. After the close of the war he was appointed captain in the 45th United States Infantry, and major and lieutenant-colonel by brevet in the regular army. In 1865 he settled in Alabama, and resigned his commission February 4, 1868, for the purpose of devoting his attention to civil pursuits. He was elected a Representative from the Fifth District of Alabama to the Fortieth Congress, as a Republican, and having been admitted to his seat July 21, 1868, was appointed a member of the Committee on Enrolled Bills. He introduced three bills providing for the establishment of mail routes in Alabama, and five bills for the removal of political disabilities from southern citizens. He also introduced a bill granting a loan of \$5,000,000, of the 5 per cent. bonds of the United States to the New Orleans and Selma Railroad and Immigrant Association, and a bill granting lands in the State of Alabama to the Tennessee and Coosa Railroad Company.



S. F. Cary

SAMUEL F. CARY.



HE subject of this sketch is a lineal descendant of John Cary, of the Plymouth Colony. His father, William Cary, emigrated from New Hampshire to the Northwest Territory before Ohio became a State. His mother, Rebecca Fenton, was a native of the State of New York, and was a sister of Governor Fenton's father.

Samuel Fenton Cary was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, February 18, 1814. In the same year his father removed to a farm in the wilderness, six miles from Cincinnati. The place is now known as College Hill, and is the seat of Farmers' College, founded by Freeman G. Cary, and the Ohio Female College, established by Samuel F. Cary, two brothers who, with rare taste and public spirit, expended their patrimony in rearing these noble institutions as monuments on the paternal estate.

Young Cary was graduated at Miami University, in the class of 1835. Shortly after his graduation he entered the Cincinnati Law School, and received its honors in 1837. He was immediately admitted to practice, and at once took rank with the first young members of the Cincinnati bar. His practice rapidly increased, and when he relinquished the profession in 1845, no man of his age in the State of Ohio had a larger business, or more enviable reputation as an advocate.

Obeying his philanthropic impulses, Mr. Cary abandoned the bar, in spite of the remonstrances of his numerous admirers, and began to devote all his energies to the cause of Temperance. In behalf of this great reform, he has made more public addresses, has been heard by a greater number of persons, and has made larger contributions of time and money than any other man in the United States.

He has been repeatedly heard in all the principal cities and towns in twenty-six States, and all the British Provinces in North America. No less than 400,000 have been induced by him to sign the pledge of total abstinence, and a multitude that no man can number bless his name.

Mr. Cary early became a Son of Temperance, and in 1848 was chosen the head of the Order in North America. During the two years of his official term, he visited twenty-two States and Provinces, and the Order was more than doubled in the number of its membership. For twenty years he was the gratuitous editor of Temperance papers of large circulation, and has written several valuable tracts that have been widely distributed and read.

As early as 1840, Mr. Cary acquired a great reputation as a political speaker, and took a prominent and active part in the Harrison campaign. In every Presidential campaign since that time his services have been sought and appreciated. There is probably not a man in the United States who is his superior on the stump. During the late civil war he was indefatigable and very successful in his efforts to fill up the ranks of the Union Army.

His style of speaking is peculiarly his own. A distinguished writer has said of him that "he speaks like a Greek, with the ease, the grace, the naturalness of the ancient orators." His speeches are the happiest combination of logic, argument, wit, sarcasm, pathos, apt illustrations, and felicitous anecdotes. He plays upon the passions and feelings of an audience with consummate skill. His personale gives force to his utterances. He is five feet eleven inches in height, weighs two hundred pounds, has dark complexion, a large head, with an unusual amount of hair, large black and speaking eyes, with a full, clear, and well-modulated voice. He never becomes hoarse, never tires, and often speaks three or four hours in the open air for successive days and weeks. He uses no notes or manuscripts, and weaves in every passing incident with most happy effect.

It had with many been a matter of surprise that with the eminent talents and ability of Mr. Cary, Ohio had for so long a time failed to

avail herself of his services in the national councils. Two reasons for this have been given ; first, that his ambition did not take that direction ; and secondly, that his prominence as an advocate of a great moral reform has led political managers to imagine that he would not be an available candidate.

In the summer of 1867, the Republicans of the Second Ohio District very generally expressed a desire to have Mr. Cary as their candidate for Congress. Distrust in his availability, however, induced some of the leaders of the party to take ground against him, and the Republican Congressional Convention gave the nomination to Richard Smith, Esq., editor of the *Cincinnati Gazette*. Mr. Cary was induced to go before the people as an independent candidate. The city of Cincinnati was greatly excited by the contest which ensued. Mr. Cary made numerous public addresses. He avowed himself the champion of the working-men. He advocated making eight hours a legal day's work, and issuing greenbacks to replace the interest-bearing bonds of the Government. Mr. Cary receiving the votes of most of the Democrats of the District, and some of the Republicans, was elected by 959 majority.

In October, 1868, Mr. Cary was a candidate for re-election to the Forty-first Congress. Taking no part in Presidential politics, but running as the champion of the working-men, without regard to party, in a District giving 3,600 majority for Grant, he was defeated by less than 500 votes, gaining largely upon his former vote. In the Fortieth Congress, Mr. Cary took a prominent part. He opposed the impeachment of the President. In a speech of five minutes he presented his views of this subject as follows :

“ If I comprehend the question, it is not whether President Johnson is a traitor to the party which placed him in power, nor whether he has prevented the reconstruction of the Southern States, responsible for the New Orleans riots, and for the assassinations of loyal men, nor whether he is a bad man generally and unfit to be trusted. We do not arraign him before the high court of impeachment on the common counts, but for an unlawful effort to rid himself of a

Cabinet Minister, or, to state the case strongly, for an open and deliberate violation of the Tenure-of-Office law. The Cabinet of the President constitute his constitutional advisers, and should obviously consist of men with whom the President can have unreserved and confidential intercourse. To force upon the President a Cabinet Minister who is openly and avowedly an enemy of his administration, and one with whom the President can have no intercourse, is manifestly so unfair and improper that no fair-minded men, not influenced by a malignant partisan zeal, can or will justify it.

“I must not be understood as impeaching the ability, integrity, and patriotism of Secretary Stanton. All these are fully established. As a War Minister, history will accord to him the first place. I doubt whether his equal has lived in any age. Deeply as we may regret a rupture between the President and his Minister of War, it did occur, and it is not our present duty to inquire who was in fault. The Senate restored Mr. Stanton to the office from which he had been removed by the President, and I do not arraign that body for their action. If, at that juncture, when Mr. Stanton was vindicated by the Senate, he had gracefully bowed himself out of the President’s household, he would have had the sympathy and confidence of the people, and would have added magnanimity to his list of patriotic virtues. Either upon his own motion, or acting by the advice of others (most probably the latter), he chose to remain unbidden as a confidential adviser of the President. There has been such a manifest want of courtesy, such a persistent and dogged determination to badger and bully the President, that the people will condemn Stanton, and sympathize with, if they do not justify, the President, however much they may despise him.

“In the present aspect of the case, my desire is that the Supreme Court, our highest judicial tribunal, shall be invoked to decide the rights of the President under the Constitution, and the constitutionality of the Civil-Tenure bill.



John W. Chandler

John W. Chandler

1839-1899

JOHN WINTHROP CHANLER.

 JOHN WINTHROP CHANLER was born in the city of New York in 1826. Having graduated in Columbia College, New York, in 1847, he studied law, and practiced the profession until 1859, when he entered political life as a member of the New York State Assembly. In 1860 he was nominated for the State Senate, and declined. In the same year he was a candidate for Representative for the Sixth District of New York, but was defeated. Two years later, he was elected a Representative to the Thirty-eighth Congress, from the Seventh New York District, and was re-elected to the Thirty-ninth and Fortieth Congresses. In the Thirty-eighth Congress he served on the Committee on Patents; in the Thirty-ninth on the Committee on Patents, and the Bankrupt Law; and in the Fortieth Congress on the Committee on Patents, Elections, and Southern Railroads.

Mr. Chanler has been prominent among the Democrats of Congress, advocating with zeal and eloquence the views of the minority on the important subjects of recent legislation. On the 10th of December, 1867, Mr. Chanler delivered a speech in the House of Representatives, in reply to Mr. Thaddeus Stevens, on his Southern Confiscation Bill, from which we make the following extract:

“Confiscation is a method by which a conqueror robs his foes and rewards his friends. Two distinct acts are done by it, and two distinct motives actuate it. One result is sought by it, namely, security to the State established by the conqueror. All confiscation is robbery; it is the tool of the tyrant and the oppressor, who, under the law of might, creates his title to that which was another's. History

is filled with examples of confiscation. Founded in violence, sustained by fraud, and sanctioned by necessity, it has become one of the established methods by which States are overthrown and maintained. Revolutions, civil wars, conspiracies, assassinations, work the decay of dynasties, parties, and States; but by confiscation the victor seizes the spoils, and holds possession by the right of arms. Confiscation and proscription have moved hand in hand through all the changes and fluctuations of empire, and have come down to us heavy with crimes of past ages, and stained with the blood, and burdened with the wrongs of uncounted thousands whom man's inhumanity to man has made to mourn. The Roman triumvirs divided the empire and doomed their dearest friends to assassination in the same breath. The genius and eloquence of Cicero could not save him from the doom which partisan hate decreed against him. The empire of Augustus was cemented with blood and enriched by the wealth of obnoxious men, proscribed by his partisans in a spirit of revenge and avarice. Roman liberty lost her last great advocate in the death of Cicero. Roman empire began when the spirit of liberty was silenced by the edict of proscription and confiscation. All along the highway of history are strewn magnificent monuments reared to commemorate this mighty wrong by the successful tyrant of the era. No reader of the inscriptions which they bear, can leave their perusal without cherishing a hope that in his day no ruthless tyrant shall rob him of his patrimony, his freedom, or his life. Confiscation is one of the hideous monsters chained to the car of grim-visaged war, and never should be let loose to raven for its prey. It legitimately is only an instrument of terror, and should not be let loose to destroy. In time of peace it should be nowhere seen or heard; savage, cruel, destroying, it has no place among civilized, humane, and law-abiding men in times like these."

Having spoken of the general character of confiscation laws, and the punishments usual among civilized nations, Mr. Chanler said of this particular measure:

"It is a legal, lineal offspring of that body of laws which sent the

commissioners of Herod to every household to fetch him the young child whom he feared. It is of the same kind as those memorable laws of Spain which drove the Moors from their homes in Andalusia ; and of that edict of France which sent Protestant Huguenots to this land, and everywhere out of their native land, in search of a home.

“ It is the same kind of laws, in a written form, as the crude laws of conquest issued by the commissioners of the King of Dahomey, of Congo, or any barbaric absolute monarchs of Central Africa, which strips every prisoner of every right to live, save at the option of the conqueror. The object is the same, the effect the same—revenge ! revenge ! revenge—and all in the name of justice under the cover of law—cruel, bad law—terrible, dire vengeance, carrying desolation and ruin in its course—blear-eyed justice, seeing only the avenues of wrong and cruelty.

“ It was one of a long series of indictments which, as the great dragon ‘swinges the horrors of his twisted tail,’ was to close in upon the white race of the Southern States, and to strangle them into a torpor worse than death—the torpor of political subordination to the negro. This is the tail of this horrid monster of political atrocity ; it carries the sting which was to rob the white race of all political vitality in the future. Its fiery breath was to light up the flames of another civil war of races—the prize to the conquering race to be the public lands in the Southern States. That the negro might be stronger and more irresistible for evil in this conflict, the Secretary of War is, by this bill, made monarch of the black kingdom of Dixie—supreme and mighty lord, serene invincible sovereign and commander-in-chief of the black armies which were and may hereafter be enrolled into our services, armed and equipped, without law of Congress, but on the mere general order of the War Secretary. That money might be had for this black horde without additional tax, the lands confiscated by this bill are to be sold—always, however, under the commission of this sovereign Secretary of War, who shall make a trust fund of a large part of the proceeds of the sale, to keep the families of his black warriors in hog and hominy, while the throats

of white citizens are being heroically cut, or their starved bodies stuck with black bayonets."

On the 6th of February, 1868, Mr. Chanler delivered an able speech in the House of Representatives on the Rights of American citizens abroad, from which we make the following brief extract:

"It does not properly belong, perhaps, to this branch of the Government, to mar the harmony which may exist between the Secretary of State and our foreign relations. But if the Representatives of a free and brave nation do not use every means in their power to redress the wrongs done by the oppressor of American citizens at home or abroad, the curse of that nation will justly rest upon their memory. The brand of sloth and neglect will be stamped on our names in history, when the inevitable consequence of the long list of grievances under which the naturalized citizen has lived in this country since the Revolution, shall culminate in universal Fenianism, involving this Government in a labyrinth of discords, complicated by disgrace.

"The destinies and rights of many million emigrants from Europe to this country, are in our hands. A new epoch has been made in the law of nations by the power of steam. The lateen-sails which wooed the breeze to waft the Asiatic races along the shores of Indian and Chinese seas, now flap idly on their reedy masts, as the swift steamer rides the deep, laden with the adventurous freight of human beings departing from Asia, to seek labor in the Western World, or coming from Europe to seek their fortunes in Australasia. The barriers built by Confucius are battered down by progress and Christian civilization. The Chinese wall of exclusiveness and despotism is crumbling at the sound of the steam-whistle, more terrible to barbarians than an army with banners." * * *

JOHN C. CHURCHILL



JOHN C. CHURCHILL was born at Mooers, Clinton County, New York, January 17, 1821. His father was a farmer in moderate circumstances, with little means at his disposal for the liberal education of his son, who was consequently mainly dependent on his own resources for education more extensive than was to be procured in the common schools. He graduated at Middlebury College, Vermont, in 1843; adopted the profession of law, and commenced practice in the city of Oswego, where he has continued to reside. From 1857 to 1860 he was district-attorney for Oswego County, and subsequently, until 1864, was county judge. In 1866 he was elected a Representative from the Twenty-second District of New York to the Fortieth Congress, and was re-elected to the Forty-first Congress.

During the Fortieth Congress he was a member of the Judiciary Committee, and with Mr. Boutwell and Mr. Eldridge formed the sub-committee that drafted the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution in the form in which it was finally adopted, to wit: "*The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.*" Mr. Churchill joined with a majority of the Judiciary Committee in a report recommending the impeachment of President Johnson. He presented a report, revising and improving the judiciary systems of the territories of Montana and Idaho. In an able speech before the House, he supported a bill for constructing a ship canal around the Falls of Niagara.

READER W. CLARKE.

READER WRIGHT CLARKE was born in Bethel, Clermont County, Ohio, on the 18th of May, 1812. His father was a native of Yorkshire, England, and his mother was of Scotch-Irish descent, born in Surry County, North Carolina. He was raised in a village, but employed in his youth in farming. His education was obtained by attending school in the winter, and private instruction at home by his father, who was a man of liberal education. He learned the art of printing, and at eighteen years of age established a paper at Rockville, Parke County, Indiana, called the "Wabash Herald," the first paper ever printed in that county. In 1833 he was married, and in May of that year located at Shawneetown, Illinois, where he published the "Illinois Journal." In consequence of the ill-health of his family, he removed in 1834 to Ohio, where he engaged in mercantile pursuits, in the meantime reading law. His business proved disastrous, and he was completely prostrated financially. He struggled along as best he could, with little or no means, and managed to keep up his law reading, buying his own books, and reading without a preceptor, until April, 1836, when he was admitted to the bar of his native county. About the same time he engaged in the newspaper business, and with A. M. Gest established the "Clermont Courier," a radical Whig paper, that started out in the support of General Harrison for the Presidency. With that paper he has been connected, as publisher, editor, or correspondent, for more than thirty years. In 1838 he was a candidate for Prosecuting Attorney of his county, and although his party was in the minority over five hundred votes, he only fell thirty-six votes short of election. In 1840 he was a candidate for the Legislature, was elected by a large majority, and re-elected in 1841, when he



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HON. READER W. CLARKE.

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declined further to be a candidate. In the Legislature he was a leading member, and Chairman of the Committee on Public Printing. His report in that capacity attracted much attention, and drew down upon him the wrath of the opposition press, and especially that of Samuel Medary, then public printer of the State. In 1844 he was a delegate to the Baltimore Convention, and candidate for elector on the Whig ticket that year, and aided in casting the electoral vote of Ohio for Henry Clay. In 1846 he was appointed Clerk of the Common Pleas and Supreme Courts of his county, which position he held until 1852, when the new Constitution went into effect and the office became elective, and he was not a candidate for the place.

In 1858 he was the Republican candidate for Congress, in a District with over fifteen hundred opposition majority. He was beaten about eight hundred, carrying his own county by seven majority, when the Democratic majority was over five hundred—Mr. Howard, his competitor, residing in the same county with him. In 1860 he was a delegate to the Chicago Convention, and was one of the Ohio delegation most zealous for the nomination of Mr. Lincoln. In 1864 he was the Republican nominee for Congress for the 6th District of Ohio, and elected by a large majority over Chilton A. White, the then sitting member. He was re-elected in 1866 over Mr. Howard by a decided majority, and in 1868 was defeated in convention by a whisky ring, to which he refused to surrender. At the close of his Congressional term, in 1869, he was appointed Third Auditor of the Treasury of the United States, which office he now holds.

In Congress he was always found acting with the Radical Republicans. His speeches in the House, which are carefully prepared and read from manuscript, will compare favorably with the best. A practical economist all his life, in Congress he uniformly voted against all measures of extravagance and prodigality. His private character, and his integrity and uprightness are unquestioned.

SIDNEY CLARKE.

IDNEY CLARKE was born at Southbridge, Worcester County, Massachusetts, October 16, 1831. His ancestors were among the earliest settlers of New England, and were numbered among the stanch loyalists of the Revolution. His grandfather was an officer under General Gates at the battle of Stillwater, and was present at the surrender of the British Army under General Burgoyne, at Saratoga. His father served in the war of 1812, and was a well known and prominent citizen of the county in which he resided. His mother was a woman of fine mind, great energy of character, and of devoted piety, and the mother of seven children, of whom the subject of this sketch was the youngest.

Mr. Clarke did not enjoy the advantages of a liberal education. At eighteen years of age, he left the farm and district school, to engage in mercantile pursuits at Worcester, Massachusetts. While thus employed, he commenced to write for the press, and soon obtained recognition as a versatile and forcible contributor.

It was at this time he became an active member of a literary society, whose members were young men who, in the main, were denied by their circumstances the advantages of a liberal education, but who, by means of the opportunities enjoyed in this and similar organizations, acquired compensating attainments. In debate, as well as in other exercises, Mr. Clarke soon occupied a prominent position.

In 1854, he returned to his native town, and became the editor and proprietor of the *Southbridge Press*, a weekly newspaper, which he continued for five years to edit and publish. During this time he took an active part in politics, identifying himself with the Free Soil



Sir Henry Lankester

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party. His first vote was cast for Hale and Julian, in the election of 1852. In 1856 he was a warm supporter of Gen. Fremont, and rendered efficient service both as editor and speaker throughout that memorable campaign. In the spring of 1858, in accordance with the advice of his physicians, he sought the more genial climate of Kansas, visiting the settled portions of the territory, and becoming ardently interested in the future of that historic community. The following year he fulfilled his purpose of making Kansas his home, and settled at Lawrence, in Douglas County. During the first two years of his residence in Kansas, Mr. Clarke became actively engaged in political affairs, and warmly espoused the cause of the "Radical wing" of the Free State party.

In 1862, he was elected to the State Legislature, where he at once took front rank among the many able men who composed that body. In 1863, he was appointed Assistant Adjutant-General of Volunteers, by Mr. Lincoln, and was at once assigned to duty in the Bureau of the Provost-Marshal General as Acting Assistant Provost-Marshal General for the District of Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado, and Dakota, with headquarters at Leavenworth, Kansas. In this line of duty he at once obtained recognition as an efficient and popular administrative officer. In the strict enforcement of the provisions of the Enrollment Act, and the superintending of the volunteer recruiting service, his office in a widely-extended district was a model of perfect organization and efficiency.

At the Republican State Convention, in the autumn of 1863, Mr. Clarke was chosen Chairman of the Republican State Central Committee, a position previously held by the ablest of the old Free State leaders. From this time forward, his record has been one of ceaseless activity and constantly enlarging influence in the political affairs of his State. So long as General Jas. H. Lane remained the advocate and exponent of Radical ideas, he heartily sympathized with and supported him. When the Legislature of 1864 irregularly elected Gov. Thomas Carney United States Senator, to supplant General Lane, Mr. Clarke went at once before the people, promptly denouncing

the election as fraudulent and illegal, and the fruit of a conspiracy. The campaign fully established his reputation for ability and political sagacity, and the action of the Legislature was overwhelmingly repudiated. On the opening of the Presidential campaign of 1864 Mr. Clarke canvassed the State in favor of Mr. Lincoln's re-election ; and by the State Convention of his party, on the 8th of September, 1864, was nominated as a candidate for the Thirty-ninth Congress.

Although bitterly opposed by malcontents, who coalesced with the Democrats to secure his defeat, he was triumphantly elected over his competitor, General Albert L. Lee, by more than fifteen hundred majority. He was renominated for the Fortieth Congress by acclamation, and was elected by a majority of more than eleven thousand. For the third time renominated, he has again been re-elected, receiving the handsome indorsement of a majority of about seventeen thousand.

As a member of Congress, Mr. Clarke has worked with great industry for the interests of his constituents, and enjoys the reputation of an able, zealous, and faithful representative. As a member of the House Committee of Indian Affairs and the Pacific Railroad Committee, while representing a new State, extensive in territory, with diversified local interests, and rapidly developing its vast resources, he has secured the confidence of his constituents by steadfast devotion to the rights and interests of the great mass of the people. His first speech in Congress was on behalf of unqualified impartial suffrage in the District of Columbia, and he has always advocated and voted for the legislation which represents the advanced ideas of the Republican organization. He has participated in all the leading conflicts which have made the policy of Congress memorable during the six years last passed, while assiduously laboring for local measures, looking toward the material development of the State he represents. Mr. Clarke possesses an active, nervous temperament, but is endowed with remarkable powers of endurance, physically as well as mentally. In one of his political campaigns in Kansas, in less than thirty days he made nearly seventy speeches, traveling in an open carriage at the

same time above twelve hundred miles, visiting the most remote sections of the State, and concluding his labors apparently unaffected by fatigue.

Mr. Clarke has devoted himself with great assiduity and sagacity to the development of the material interests of his rapidly-growing State: more especially to the protection of its people against the growth of those land and other monopolies, which in all Western States have had to be struggled against. In doing this, however, he has wisely and liberally aided all reasonable efforts to promote public and private improvements.

AMASA COBB.



MASA COBB was born in Crawford County, Illinois, September 27, 1823. He was educated in the common schools, and at the age of nineteen went to Wisconsin territory, and worked five years in the lead mines. At the breaking out of hostilities with Mexico, he volunteered, and served as a private during the war. Such leisure time as he found during his service, he employed in study, and on the return of peace commenced the practice of law. He soon attracted public notice, and in 1850 was elected a district-attorney and served four years. In 1854 he was elected to the Wisconsin State Senate, and in 1855 was adjutant-general of Wisconsin, an office which he held until 1858. He was a Representative in the State Legislature in 1860 and 1861, and during the last term held the office of Speaker. On the breaking out of the civil war he raised the 5th Regiment of Wisconsin Volunteers, and went into the service as its colonel. In 1862 he was elected a Representative in the Thirty-eighth Congress, and resigned his commission. Subsequently, however, during a recess of Congress he raised the 43d Regiment of Wisconsin Volunteers, which he commanded until July, 1865, when he was mustered out. He was brevetted for gallant service at Williamsburg, Golden's Farm, and Antietam. He was re-elected to the Thirty-ninth, Fortieth, and Forty-first Congresses. He served on the Committee on Claims, the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, and the Committee on Military Affairs. Although a ready and fluent speaker, he did not often address the House. His speech on Impeachment was an able review of the acts which in his opinion rendered President Johnson "worthy of impeachment and removal from office."

JOHN COBURN.

 OHN COBURN was born at Indianapolis, Indiana, October 27, 1825. His father was a native of Massachusetts, who settled in Indiana while it was yet a territory. The subject of this sketch enjoyed excellent advantages of early education in his native city, and subsequently attended Wabash College, where he graduated in 1846. He was employed a short time in the office of the clerk of the Supreme Court; studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1850. During this and the following year he was a member of the State Legislature. Although one of the youngest members, and in the Whig minority, he took an active part in legislation. The Whigs in that Legislature voted in a body against resolutions approving the Clay Compromise of 1850; thus early showing themselves ready for the great Republican movement, in which some of them became leaders four years later.

In 1856 Mr. Coburn was the Republican candidate for Congress, and conducted the canvass with such ability that his competitor, unable to answer his arguments, quit the stump soon after they had entered upon a series of joint discussions. Mr. Coburn received a much larger vote than the Republican candidates who were successful in the preceding and subsequent elections, but his opponent was declared elected, since it was vital to the success of the Buchanan presidential ticket in the State in November that the Central Congressional District should be carried for the Democrats in October.

In 1853 Mr. Coburn engaged in the defense of Freeman, who, though never a slave, had been seized by a pretended owner from Kentucky under the Fugitive Slave Law. To find evidence for his

client, Mr. Coburn went twice to Kentucky and made two journeys into Canada, and by great exertions succeeded in releasing him from the grasp of the kidnapper. Sympathy with the slave was at that time unpopular in Indiana, and Mr. Coburn lost business by reason of his efforts for Freeman. In 1857 he was counsel for the defence in another celebrated fugitive slave case. These two important cases attracted the attention of the whole country, and had an influence in consolidating a majority in Indiana against the slaveholders in 1860.

In 1858 Mr. Coburn was elected judge of the Court of Common Pleas. Soon after the election of Mr. Lincoln, when the plans of the rebels began to appear, many Republicans in Indiana were ready to consent to a peaceful withdrawal of the Southern States, in order to prevent loss of property and life. At this juncture a large mass meeting was addressed by Judge Coburn and Hon. Jonathan W. Gordon, who counselled uncompromising adherence to the Union against the treason of secession, and thus a sentiment was promoted at the State capital which did much to direct Indiana upon the course in which the State gained enduring honor in the war.

Soon after the breaking out of hostilities, Mr. Coburn entered the military service, and was commissioned colonel of the 33d Regiment of Indiana Volunteers. In September, 1861, he left Indianapolis with his command, and marching into Kentucky was immediately in the midst of active service. With his regiment he bore the brunt of the battle of Wildeat, and did most of the fighting by which Zollicoffer's force was repulsed. Officers and men bore themselves with great coolness and valor, although they had never before been under fire. Thus the first battle of the army of the Cumberland was mainly fought by Col. Coburn's regiment, and the first man who fell in defence of the Union in Kentucky was private McFadden of his command.

Col. Coburn was given command of a brigade, participated in the movements which resulted in the taking of Cumberland Gap; took part in operations in Tennessee, and finally was taken prisoner, with four hundred of his command, at Thompson's Station, on the 5th of

March, 1863. Officers and men were treated with the utmost barbarity while on the way to Richmond, and after their incarceration in Libby Prison. "The iron-hearted monsters who had charge of the prisons," said Col. Coburn, in his report, "had no regard for suffering nor for human life." The prisoners were exchanged at City Point, Virginia, May 5, 1863, and were soon again in active service.

During the spring and summer of 1864, Col. Coburn commanded a brigade in the great Atlanta campaign, participating with distinguished honor in the battles at Resacca, New Hope Church, Golgotha Church, Culp's Farm, and Peach Tree Creek.

On the 2d of September, 1864, the city of Atlanta was surrendered to Col. Coburn, who was met in the suburbs by the mayor, with a flag of truce. The officer who bore a prominent part in the first battle of the army of the Cumberland, had the honor to receive the surrender of the last rebel stronghold in the West. His term of three years having expired, and the war in the West being virtually ended, he retired from the military service on the 25th of September, 1864.

In March, 1865, he was appointed and confirmed Secretary of Montana Territory, but declined the office. In the following October he was elected judge of the 5th Judicial Circuit of Indiana, an office which he accepted against his own inclinations, the duties of which, however, he performed in a manner highly satisfactory to a bar which is among the ablest in the United States. While upon the bench he was unanimously nominated by the Republicans as their candidate for Congress, and was elected in October, 1866.

During the Fortieth Congress, Mr. Coburn was a member of the Committee on Public Expenditures and the Committee on Banking and Currency. At the short session of Congress, in July, 1867, he proposed an amendment to the Reconstruction acts, imposing penalties for offenses against the rights of voters in the late rebel States. This, if accepted, might have saved Congress the necessity of incorporating similar provisions in an act to enforce the Fifteenth Amendment, which was passed so late as 1870. On the 28th of January, 1868, he addressed the House on the subject of Southern railroads,

in which he was the first to advocate in Congress certain necessary restrictions upon land grants to railroads. In an able legal and historical argument on impeachment, he maintained that Mr. Johnson's "whole history as President has been marked with usurpations of power and violations of rights." In February, 1868, he supported by a speech the bill for the redistribution of the currency, and in January, 1869, he delivered an elaborate and eloquent speech on Finance, in which he showed the importance of funding the national debt and the folly of attempting to resume specie payment by legislation. He also addressed the House in opposition to the bill "to strengthen the public credit," in which he maintained that our national credit, so far from needing "strengthening" by legislation was "good, and growing better every day."



Schuyler Colfax

SCHUYLER COLFAX,

SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
VICE-PRESIDENT ELECT.

HE name of Colfax appears in Revolutionary history. General William Colfax, grandfather of the Speaker of the House of Representatives, commanded the life-guards of General Washington during the Revolutionary war. Subsequently to the war he was one of Washington's most intimate personal friends. The wife of General Colfax was a cousin of General Philip Schuyler.

Schuyler Colfax, son of General Colfax, and father of the Statesman, resided in New York, where he held an office in one of the city banks. He died soon after his marriage, and before the birth of his son.

Hon. Schuyler Colfax was born in the city of New York March 23, 1823. He attended the common schools of the city until he was ten years old. At this early age his school training terminated, and he launched into active life to acquire learning and make his way as best he could. The boy served three years as clerk in a store, and at the end of that time removed with his mother and stepfather, Mr. Matthews, to Indiana. They could have found no more attractive region in all the West than the place they chose for settlement—the beautiful region of prairies and groves bordering the River "St. Joseph of the Lakes."

For four years following his removal to the West, the youth was employed as a clerk in a village store. At the age of seventeen, having been appointed deputy auditor, he removed to South Bend, the county town which ever since

has been his residence. He frequently wrote for the local newspaper of the town, and attracted attention by the perspicuity and correctness with which he expressed his views. During several sessions of the Legislature he was employed in reporting its proceedings for the Indianapolis Journal.

In 1845 Mr. Colfax became proprietor and editor of the "St. Joseph Valley Register," the local newspaper of South Bend. At the outset he had but two hundred and fifty subscribers, and at the end of the first year he found himself fourteen hundred dollars in debt. Being possessed of tact, energy, and ability, he pushed bravely forward in his laborious profession, and soon had the satisfaction of seeing his paper a success. A few years later his newspaper office was burned, without insurance, and the editor had to begin his fortune again at the foundation. Mr. Colfax applied himself with renewed industry to his work, and in a few years made the St. Joseph Valley Register the most influential paper in that portion of the State.

Mr. Colfax was, in 1848, a delegate and secretary to the Whig National Convention which nominated General Taylor. Although his district was opposed to his political party, his personal popularity was so great that in 1849 he was elected a member of the Convention to revise the Constitution of Indiana. He was soon after offered a nomination to the State Senate, which he declined on account of the demands of his private business.

Mr. Colfax received his first nomination as a candidate for Congress in 1851, and was beaten by a majority of only two hundred votes in a district strongly opposed to him in politics. In 1852 he was a delegate to the Whig National Convention which nominated General Scott. He declined to be a candidate for Congress in the subsequent election, which went against his party by a majority of one thousand votes.

The succeeding Congress signalized itself by passing the Nebraska bill, which wrought a great change in public opinion throughout the North. The Representative from Mr. Colfax's district voted for this odious act. He came home and took the stump as a candidate for re-election. Mr. Colfax was put forward as his opponent, and the two candidates traversed their district together, debating before the same audiences the great question which agitated the public mind. The unfortunate member strove in vain to justify his vote, and render the Nebraska act acceptable to the people. He who had gained the previous election by one thousand votes now lost it by a majority of two thousand.

The Thirty-Fourth Congress, to which Mr. Colfax was then elected, convened December 3, 1855. At that time occurred the memorable contest for the Speakership which lasted two months, and resulted in the election of Mr. Banks. At one stage in the contest, an adroit attempt to foist Mr. Orr, of South Carolina, upon the House as Speaker, was defeated by an opportune proposition made by Mr. Colfax, by which the question was deferred and the result avoided.

On the 21st of June, 1856, Mr. Colfax delivered a memorable speech on the "Laws" of Kansas, which fell with decided effect upon Congress and the country, as a plain and truthful showing of the great legislative enormity of the day. During the Presidential campaign of that year, half a million copies of this speech were distributed among the voters of the United States.

While in Washington, Mr. Colfax was nominated for re-election, and, after a laborious canvass, carried his district, although the Presidential election went against his party. To each succeeding Congress Mr. Colfax has been regularly nominated and re-elected.

In the Thirty-Sixth Congress, Mr. Colfax was Chairman of the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads—a position in which he did good service for the country, by securing the

extension of mail facilities to the newly-settled regions of the far West.

The nomination of Abraham Lincoln, in 1860, was eminently satisfactory to Mr. Colfax, who entered with great spirit into the canvass, and did much to aid in carrying Indiana for the Republican party. During Mr. Lincoln's entire term, down to the day of his assassination, he regarded Mr. Colfax as one of his wisest and most faithful friends, whom he often consulted on grave matters of public policy.

At the opening of the Thirty-eighth Congress, December, 1863, Mr. Colfax was elected Speaker of the House of Representatives. He has since been twice re-elected to this important office, on each occasion by a larger majority than before. He has displayed signal ability in performing the duties of an office of great difficulty and responsibility. His remarkable tact, unvarying good temper, exhaustless patience, cool presence of mind, and familiarity with parliamentary law, all combine to render him, as a Speaker of the House, second to none who have ever occupied its Chair.

In April, 1865, Mr. Colfax went with a party of friends on a journey across the continent, to San Francisco. The evening before his departure he called at the White House to take leave of President Lincoln. An hour after he grasped his hand with a cheerful and cordial good-bye, he was startled with the intelligence that the beloved President was assassinated. Before leaving for the Pacific, Mr. Colfax delivered a eulogy on the murdered President at Chicago, and afterward, by invitation, repeated it in Colorado, at Salt Lake City, and in California.

On his way westward, Mr. Colfax spent a few days among the Mormons at Salt Lake City, studying their organization with the eye of a statesman. "I have had a theory for years past," he said, in explaining the motives of his journey, "that it is the duty of men in public life, charged with a participation in the government of a great country like ours, to know as much as possible of the interests, developments, and resources of the country whose destiny, comparatively, has been committed to their hands." Brigham Young, in-

quiring of him what the Government intended to do about the question of polygamy, Mr. Colfax shrewdly replied that he hoped the prophet would have a new revelation on that subject, which would relieve all embarrassment.

The reception of Mr. Colfax along his route and on the Pacific coast was an ovation which revealed his great popularity. On his return, Mr. Colfax, by urgent solicitation, delivered in various cities and before vast audiences, an eloquent and instructive lecture describing adventures, scenes, and reflections, incident to his journey "Across the Continent." The proceeds of the delivery of this lecture were generally given to the widows and children of soldiers who had fallen in the war, and to other objects of benevolence.

On the 20th of May, 1868, the National Republican Convention assembled in Chicago. After unanimously nominating General U. S. Grant for President, the Convention nominated Hon. Schuyler Colfax for Vice-President, receiving on the first formal ballot a majority over all the distinguished gentlemen who had been named as candidates. This nomination was made unanimous amid unbounded enthusiasm.

On the day following his nomination, Mr. Colfax received the congratulations of his friends in Washington, and in the course of a brief speech on that occasion, uttered the following noble sentiments: "Defying all prejudices, we are for uplifting the lowly, and protecting the oppressed. History records, to the immortal honor of our organization, that it saved the nation and emancipated the race. We struck the fetter from the limb of the slave, and lifted millions into the glorious sunlight of liberty. We placed the emancipated slave on his feet as a man, and put into his right hand the ballot to protect his manhood and his rights. We staked our political existence on the reconstruction of the revolted States, on the sure and eternal corner-stone of loyalty, and we shall triumph."

No public party ever made more popular nominations. Both candidates added special and peculiar elements of strength to the Republican ticket.

After one of the most important and exciting political campaigns in the history of the country, Mr. Colfax was, on the 3d of November, elected Vice-President of the United States, receiving, with the illustrious candidate for the Presidency, a large majority of both the electoral and popular votes.

Mr. Colfax was first married at the age of twenty-one to an early playmate of his childhood. After being for a long time an invalid, she died several years ago, leaving him childless. His mother and sister have since presided at his receptions, which, if not the most brilliant, have been the most popular of any given at the Capital. On the 18th of November, a fortnight after his election to the Vice-Presidency, Mr. Colfax was married to Miss Ella M. Wade, of Andover, Ohio. She is a niece of Hon. Benjamin F. Wade, and is a lady whose virtues and accomplishments fit her to cheer the private life, and grace the public career of her distinguished husband.

Mr. Colfax is of medium stature and compact frame, with a fair complexion, a mild, blue eye, and a large mouth, upon which a smile habitually plays. He has a melodious voice, a rapid utterance, and smooth and graceful elocution. Consistent in politics, agreeable in manners, and pure in morals, he has all the elements of lasting popularity.



Engraved by J. P. Pearce

Burton C. Cook

HON. BURTON C. COOK

REPRESENTATIVE FROM ILLINOIS

BURTON C. COOK.

BURTON C. COOK was born in Monroe County, New York, May 11, 1819. He was educated at the Collegiate Institute in the city of Rochester; and in 1835 he removed to the State of Illinois. Here he entered upon the practice of law, and soon acquired a large and valuable business; being highly esteemed also, wherever known, for his sterling honesty and integrity.

From 1846 to 1852 Mr. Cook held the office of State's Attorney for the Ninth Judicial Circuit of Illinois. In the latter year he was elected to the State Senate, of which body, during the eight succeeding years, he was an active and efficient member. He early became identified with the great anti-slavery movement of the country, delivering heavy blows against the institution of slavery, until he was permitted to rejoice in its overthrow.

The repeal of the Missouri Compromise had the influence to drive from the Democratic party in Illinois such men as Mr. Cook, Mr. Judd, and Governor Palmer; and on that issue they, being at that time in the State Senate, nominated Mr. Trumbull for the Senate of the United States; and with the aid of the Whigs, under the leadership of Abraham Lincoln, he was elected; and thus was commenced the Republican party in Illinois.

Mr. Cook was one of the representatives of the State of Illinois in the Peace Conference which met in Washington, in February, 1861, in which he earnestly opposed the proposition that slavery should either be recognized or protected in the Territories of the United States by the National Government, and, in connection with Governor Wood, of Illinois, entered his protest on the journal of the Con-

ference against the vote of his State as cast by a majority of its delegates in favor of the resolutions adopted by the Convention.

Mr. Cook was in 1864 elected a Representative from Illinois to the Thirty-ninth Congress, during which he was a member of the Judiciary Committee, and the author of the statute passed by that Congress to protect the officers and soldiers of the army from suits brought to recover damages for acts done in pursuance of military authority during the war, and other measures of national importance.

Having been returned to the Fortieth Congress, Mr. Cook was a member of the Committee on Elections, and chairman of the Committee on Roads and Canals. From the latter Committee he reported a bill authorizing the building of a military and postal railway from Washington to the city of New York. He supported this bill by an elaborate speech, made February 3 and 4, 1869, in which he maintained that the power to charter the proposed line of railroad was derived from the Constitutional provision that "Congress shall have power to regulate commerce among the several States." He showed that the power to regulate commerce among the States was not limited to any particular branch, nor restricted to any specified instruments of commerce, and that the power to widen and deepen rivers implied the power to build railroads. From the Committee on Elections, Mr. Cook made several reports in contested cases. His report relating to Beck and other representatives-elect from Kentucky, is important as laying down certain general principles which should govern the action of the House in cases where disloyalty is alleged as a disqualification for membership in Congress.

SIMEON CORLEY.

SIMEON CORLEY was born in Lexington County, South Carolina, February 10, 1823. He received the rudiments of an English education in the Lexington Academy, which he attended from 1830 to 1834, and then was apprenticed to learn the tailor's trade. He began business on his own account in 1838, and did not entirely give it up, even after his entrance upon public life. He manifested no little inventive skill in his trade, and became the inventor of a new system of garment cutting. He opposed an attempted secession of South Carolina in 1852, for which an attempt was made to expel him from the State as an abolitionist. He edited the South Carolina "Temperance Standard" in 1855 and 1856, and during the same years held the office of grand scribe of the Sons of Temperance of the State. He took his stand in hopeless opposition to secession in 1860, but was finally compelled to enter the rebel army, and was captured by the national troops at Petersburg, Virginia, April 2, 1865, when he gladly took the oath of allegiance, and returned home. He advocated the reconstruction policy of Congress, and was elected to the Constitutional Convention of South Carolina on the Republican ticket by a large majority. He was elected a Representative to the Fortieth Congress from South Carolina, as a Republican. Having had his disabilities removed by act of Congress, Mr. Corley was admitted to his seat July 25, 1868. In one of his speeches in Congress he describes himself as "one whose humble avocation had placed him beneath the social plane of the aristocratic oligarchy of the South, and whose aspirations and natural bent raised him above the narrow circle to which that aristocracy had assigned him; whose standpoint was reached by the furious lashings of the storm which rocked the ship of State on the surging sea of rebellion whose waves have borne him thus far out on the turbulent ocean of politics."

THOMAS CORNELL.

ROM a careful investigation of public and private records, recently made by Hon. Ezra Cornell, it appears that the numerous families that bear the name of CORNELL have descended from different parental stocks which emigrated from Europe in the early part of the seventeenth century.

The subject of this sketch is descended from that particular family to which, in July, 1646, Mr. Wm. Kieft, then "Director General and Council for the Prince of Orange," delivered a grant of land in Westchester County, at a point on the East River afterwards known as "Cornell's Neck."

Thomas Cornell was born at White Plains, Westchester County, New York, January 23, 1814. Having enjoyed the limited advantage of a common school-education, he was first employed as a clerk in the city of New York. In 1843 he removed to Ulster County, where, with a very small capital, he began on his own account the forwarding business between Eddyville and New York. Six years later he engaged in the new and growing traffic which followed the completion of the Delaware and Hudson Canal, a traffic which under his skillful management made rapid progress, till at length it has attained the mammoth proportions which we witness to-day.

With the sudden increase in the products of labor which naturally sought a market in the metropolis, there arose the necessity of increased facilities for the transportation of freight and passengers on the waters of the Hudson, and to this latter work, in 1848, Mr. Cornell began to devote his energies. In this enterprise his untiring industry and careful business management have for twenty years been at-



Thomas Connolly
1812-1865

tended with uniform and signal success, so that he is to-day the sole proprietor of twenty-three steamboats, some of them first-class in size, cost, and speed, and constituting one of the largest and most valuable steam fleets in the country.

It is but natural that the capacity, energy, and industry which attained such results, should have opened up to them still other departments of successful enterprise. Hence we find Mr. Cornell becoming in turn the founder and president of the First National Bank of Rondout, of the Rondout Savings Bank, the originator and president of the Rondout and Oswego Railroad, now in process of construction, and also of the Horse Railroad which connects Rondout with Kingston, all of which positions he still holds. He seems gifted with that rare and peculiar adaptation to business which almost instantly and instinctively discovers the elements of success or failure in every business transaction, with that self-reliance and energy which prompt him to go forward directly and confidently to the object before him, and with that keen, penetrating, and comprehensive knowledge of human nature which is so essential in the choice of men to carry out his plans.

As a citizen he is noted for his continued efforts to secure the general good of the community in which he resides. He is always ready to aid in any measures which tend to augment its wealth or add to its attractiveness. His gifts for the building of houses of worship and the support of the Gospel among the various denominations, are frequent and liberal.

Though never a politician, either by choice or inclination, Mr. Cornell has always been known for his zealous and faithful adherence to the principles of the Republican party. Upon the leading questions of political economy, he has thought deeply, and clearly comprehends the fundamental principles upon which our Republic rests, as well as the elements which are best fitted to secure the stability and permanence of its institutions; while his appreciation of the blessings which flow from a well-ordered government is ardent and strong. A man of the people, he is in the closest sympathy with them, irre-

spective of nationality, creed, or complexion. His friends, therefore, have long regarded him as endowed in a peculiar manner with the more solid and sterling qualities of the efficient legislator, but not till recently have they been able to prevail upon him to accept any public trust at their hands. His consent, when finally obtained, was given with the utmost reluctance and at great personal sacrifice. In his district, which has been uniformly and largely Democratic, he was elected to the Fortieth Congress by a handsome majority. His public service has more than met the expectation of his friends. He has discharged the duties of member of the Committee on Education and also of that on Roads and Canals; his faithful and efficient guardianship of the interests of his constituents securing for him the increased confidence and esteem of both parties.

The source of Mr. Cornell's great popularity is to be found, not, as is too often the case, in the shrewd and skillful maneuvers of the mere politician, but rather in the general public conviction of the purity of his moral and Christian character, his superior business qualifications, his great tact in the selection of right men and measures, his stern devotion to the principles of truth and justice, and possibly more than all, in his unbounded liberality. This last is of all others his predominant characteristic. Upon needy and meritorious public institutions his gifts have been bestowed, tens of thousands of dollars at a time, and in such rapid succession as to astonish even his most intimate friends. These free-will offerings, in many instances unsolicited, so far from being restricted to his own individual relationships or preferences, have been extended to the widest range of Christian and philanthropic benevolence. In giving, however, as in everything else, he is never reckless or indiscriminate, but shrewd and well advised, always taking into account the worthiness of the object, and the amount of good which is likely to be attained. His princely liberality was particularly manifest during the recent Rebellion, as well in raising and sending men to the field, as in providing for the maintenance of their families during their absence. Many a soldier's taxes were paid while he was serving his country,

and many a soldier's widow and children were relieved by his ready hands.

Mr. Cornell's method of thinking is peculiar to himself. He generalizes with great rapidity, often deciding upon the merits of the most intricate proposition the instant it is fairly stated, but never without taking into account its minutest details. Hence the promptness and punctuality with which he dispatches business, and the number and magnitude of his business transactions. He is emphatically a man of deeds, not words; yet when the occasion requires, he speaks with much effectiveness, is self-possessed, and has a ready command of language. There is, moreover, a subdued earnestness in his manner, and a pathos in the tones of his voice, which never fail to attract attention and produce a favorable impression. In manners he is quiet, modest, and even retiring, never obtruding his opinion where it is not desired, but easy, graceful, and attractive in conversation. In his external demeanor there is not, to the ordinary observer, the slightest indication of his high position or great success; and yet in many respects, Thomas Cornell is one of the most remarkable men in the Fortieth Congress.

JOHN COVODE.

MORE than a hundred and thirty years ago a child was stolen in Amsterdam by a sea-captain, who gave him the name of Garrett Covode. The boy was brought to Philadelphia and sold into bondage, in which he continued till twenty-eight years old. At this age he was unable to read a word. He afterwards attended General Washington in the capacity of a servant, and died in 1826, at the advanced age of ninety-four.

His grandson, John Covode, was born in Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, March 17, 1808. The mother of John Covode was of Quaker descent, her ancestors being among those early pioneers who came over with William Penn; two of whom, and a third by the name of Wood, wrote the protest against Penn's decision in favor of human bondage, which was said to have been the first anti-slavery document written on this continent.

John Covode's opportunities for early education were limited. He was brought up on a farm, and afterward learned the trade of woollen manufacturing, which business he has now conducted for about forty years. At the same time, he was a man too energetic and progressive to devote all his attention to a woollen mill. When the State canal was building, he was one of the first to give it encouragement. After its completion he engaged in the transportation business, and commanded the first section boat that went over it from Philadelphia to the Ohio. When the Pennsylvania Railroad was contemplated, he gave to that great enterprise his time, his influence, and his means. He was in partnership with the company in the transportation business, until the completion of their road through to Pittsburg. He then organized the Westmoreland Coal Company, and commenced shipping gas coal to the Eastern markets. Of this



John Cowdrey

company he was President until his duties in Congress compelled him to resign, and this enterprise, which he organized, and which he managed for several years, is, like most of his undertakings, a complete success.

Mr. Covode was first a candidate for office in 1845, when he was the Whig nominee for the State Senate in a district strongly Democratic. At his second nomination he came within so few votes of being elected, that the opposing party became alarmed at his growing popularity and changed the district. He was then taken up and elected by his party to the Thirty-fourth, Thirty-fifth, Thirty-sixth, and Thirty-seventh Congresses, during which time he was Chairman of the celebrated Investigating Committee, which did so much to show up and bring to light the enormous frauds and corrupt practices of certain parties at that time associated with the Government.

On the breaking out of the rebellion Mr. Covode was one of the first to urge bold, decisive measures. He sent three sons into the army, the youngest of whom was only fifteen years old. They joined the Fourth Pennsylvania Cavalry, one of the most gallant and meritorious regiments in the service. His eldest son, George Covode, became Colonel of the regiment, and was killed while gallantly leading his regiment at St. Mary's Church, near Richmond. The youngest suffered the miseries and torments of Andersonville for a year and a half, from the effects of which he will never recover. The second son returned at the expiration of his term of enlistment.

In Congress Mr. Covode was placed upon the Joint Committee on the conduct of the war. After the close of the war he was sent South by the President, to aid the Government in working out its Reconstruction policy. His views, however, failing to harmonize with those of Mr. Johnson, he declined any further connection with his administration.

For the Thirty-eighth and Thirty-ninth Congresses Mr. Covode was not a candidate, and his district was carried by the Democrats. At the earnest solicitation of the Republican party he consented to be nominated for the Fortieth Congress, and was elected by a majority of three hundred votes.

SHELBY M. CULLOM.

 SHELBY M. CULLOM was born in Wayne County, Kentucky, November 22, 1829. His father moved from Kentucky with his family when the subject of this sketch was scarcely a year old, and settled in Tazewell County, Illinois, where he now resides.

Young Cullom remained with his father until nineteen years of age, working upon the farm in summer, and attending a neighboring school in the winter. He, however, taught school about ten months of the time above named. At the age of nineteen, he left home and entered school at Mt. Morris University, but was obliged to leave at the close of the second year, on account of his health.

Having returned home, he remained there until his health was restored, when he entered the office of Messrs. Stewart & Edwards, at Springfield, Ill., and commenced the study of law. He was in a short time admitted to practice, and was immediately elected City Attorney, which office he held during one year.

The presidential campaign of 1856 then came on, and Mr. Cullom was placed upon the electoral ticket for Fillmore. He was also nominated for the State legislature by the Fillmore and Fremont parties uniting together, and was elected. At the meeting of the legislature, he was voted for by the Fillmore men for Speaker of the House. In 1860 he was again elected to the legislature from Sangamon County, and this time was chosen Speaker.

In 1862, Mr. Cullom was appointed by President Lincoln on a commission with Gov. Boutwell, of Massachusetts, and Charles A. Dana—afterward Assistant Secretary of War—to proceed to Cairo,



Sam'l Bullion

BY J. R. GREEN, LONDON.

Illinois, for the purpose of examining into the accounts and transactions of quartermasters and commissary officers, and pass upon claims allowed by them against the Government. He was afterward a candidate for the State Senate, and for a seat in the Constitutional Convention, in a Democratic District, and was defeated.

In 1864, Mr. Cullom was nominated by the Union party of his District for Congress ; and although the District, at the last previous election, had been Democratic by about fifteen hundred majority, yet he was elected by a majority of seventeen hundred—thus defeating the Hon. John T. Stewart, with whom he had read law.

The first speech made by Mr. Cullom in Congress, was in answer to Mr. Harding, of Kentucky ; who had made a bitter speech against the Union party of the country, and among other things, had said that “it was time a little posting was done.” We give here an extract or two from Mr. Cullom’s response :

“ But, sir, as the gentleman proclaimed to this House and the country that it was time a little posting was done, I thought with him ; and let me tell the gentleman and his political friends that the great Union party which has stood by the nation’s flag and borne it aloft amid the fierce storm of war, is always willing that the books should be posted ; and the great measures of the party, for the support of which they have received the unmeasured abuse of traitors and their sympathizers, held up to the inspection of the patriotic millions of this land.

“ We are not the men, sir, to shun such an examination. The party which has shaped the policy of this nation since the election to the Presidency of the great martyr to the cause of liberty, and which has never turned its back upon the Government in its contest with treason and rebellion, and which has procured the recognition of the great principles of freedom throughout the land, has no cause for alarm when it is proposed to spread before the world its political record.

“ Sir, we are willing that the items of the account shall be called over, the long columns added together, a balance-sheet struck, so that

the people may see at a glance how the matter stands. And may I call upon the loyal people to hold to strict accountability the party who is the debtor, as appears from a posting since the beginning of the accursed rebellion."

At the close of this speech, after posting the books and discussing Reconstruction at some length, Mr. Cullom said :

"I do not desire to deal harshly with these States or any fallen enemy. Rather would I turn from the scenes of rebellion and barbarity which have been enacted by those engaged in the attempt to overthrow the Republic, and look upon a brighter, better scene, as we commence the great work of rebuilding upon the scattered ruins of those once prosperous States. I shall not be guided in my action as a legislator by malice or revenge. But, sir, I cannot forget the thousands of brave and gallant men who laid down their lives in the terrible struggle that the nation might live. I cannot forget that four long years were required to crush out the causeless, wicked rebellion against the best Government in the world.

"Sir, I cannot forget that night in April last when that great man, so fitly styled the saviour of his country, was murdered by a fiend pushed on by the maddened exasperation of a dying rebellion.

"Sir, I perhaps feel as keenly the result of that last tragic act as any man upon this floor. Abraham Lincoln, a martyr for the cause of liberty and patriotism, murdered by traitors, now sleeps in the bosom of my own State and city; the patriotic sons of the Prairie State will closely guard his honored remains. And as we proceed in the performance of our responsible duties, let us stand by that old maxim, 'Let justice be done though the heavens shall fall.'"

Mr. Cullom was renominated by the Union party of his District, in 1866, and was elected by more than double his first majority. In the doings and deliberations of the Fortieth Congress, to which he was thus elected, Mr. Cullom took an active part.

On one occasion, in participating in a discussion on a measure for the protection of American citizens abroad, Mr. Cullom said :

"To-day there are about two million people in our country from

the German States, and about the same number from Ireland, that land of persecution. During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1866, there were three hundred and thirty thousand seven hundred and five emigrants came to this country ; and during the last fiscal year ending June 30, 1867, there were three hundred and ten thousand one hundred and fourteen. Sir, they are coming—they are coming with brave hearts and stout hands ; they are coming with souls panting for liberty ; they are coming as it were with the eye of faith fixed and gazing upon the tree of liberty planted in American soil, enriched with patriots' blood ; and as they come, full of hope and courage, they expect soon to gather beneath its protecting branches, and enjoy the blessings of a free Government. Shall this nation, as in days past, still say, Come ? Shall our consuls and emigrant agents abroad still continue to point out to those oppressed millions the advantages and glories of this country, its lands, its institutions, its Government ? Shall we continue our naturalization laws upon our statute-books ? Shall we invite men—honest men—to take an oath to support the Constitution of the United States, and renounce all allegiance to the sovereign over the land of their nativity ? Sir, the answer to these questions depends upon the action of the Government in protecting or failing to protect its people.

“ Our duty is plain, sir. It is to declare the position of the American Government, and see that the Government stands by and maintains that position, in the protection of the rights of naturalized citizens whom we have invited to our shores, and who have sworn allegiance to our country.

“ Mr. Speaker, one of the chief glories of a nation is in its disposition and courage to protect the rights of its people ; and the nation that will not strive at least to do that deserves to be blotted from the face of the earth. I do not fear, sir, either a lack of disposition, courage, or ability to do justice to all our citizens in the present struggle. All that is needed is that the American nation shall demand the right, and it will be yielded.”

HENRY L. DAWES.

HENRY L. DAWES was born October 30, 1816, at Cummington, Hampshire County, Massachusetts, among the Berkshire Hills, whose inhabitants and interests he has represented in Congress for more than thirteen years. He is of the English yeomanry stock, and the founder of the Massachusetts family; was among the early colonists, settling at Abington, in the eastern portion, whence the parents of Mr. Dawes removed to Cummington, afterwards settling on a small farm in North Adams. Several uncles served in the Continental army throughout the War for Independence, though his father was too young for such duty.

It was amid these associations and surroundings that Mr. Dawes was reared, attending school in the winter, and working hard, as soon as able, on the hill-side farm. At the age of twenty-three he graduated at Yale College, having, when he entered, about forty dollars with which to meet his necessary expenses. When vacation came he travelled a-foot to the homestead at North Adams, and in the same primitive manner returned to his Alma Mater, teaching school and working on the farm during vacations in order to obtain means sufficient to carry him through the collegiate course.

Leaving Yale, he was soon after admitted to the bar, and devoted himself generally to the practice of his profession, diversifying the struggle with teaching school at intervals and for several years editing the "Greenfield Gazette." The young lawyer and editor took his position with the Whig party, and did it good service by voice and pen. In 1848 he was elected a Representative in the State Legislature, and again in 1849 and 1852, serving one term as State



A. L. Dane

1850

Senator. During this legislative service he was more or less closely identified with the Free Soil movement, being always recognized as possessed of decided anti-slavery convictions, though, by temperament, moderate in methods and cautious in policy. In 1853 he was elected to and served in the State Constitutional Convention, and from that time until 1857 he was State district-attorney. The Know-nothing movement had control of Massachusetts for a season, but during its whole career it was steadily opposed by Mr. Dawes. He was the only anti-Know-nothing member of the Massachusetts delegation when his Congressional career began in 1857. He entered Congress at the beginning of the fierce and turbulent Lecompton struggle, and was a useful ally to the party resisting that iniquity. In the Thirty-sixth Congress he was placed on the Committee on Elections, of which he was made chairman in the Thirty-seventh Congress, continuing to serve thereon until the close of the Fortieth Congress.

In 1860 he was prominently mentioned as a candidate for Governor, receiving a handsome vote in the convention that nominated John A. Andrew. In the winter of 1861-62 he was a member of the famous Van Wyck Investigating Committee, which was charged with an inquiry into government contracts. Mr. Dawes was active in the investigation, preparation of the report, and in support of it on the floor, proving himself a valuable ally or formidable opponent, as the need required.

Throughout the war Mr. Dawes was an able and faithful supporter of the administration, always voting or speaking in behalf of all necessary measures for the suppression of rebellion and maintenance of the Union. Outside of Congress he was an active and efficient stump speaker, always in demand and popular, both from his thorough acquaintance with political affairs, men and measures, and his clear, logical and attractive mode of statement and argument. His arduous labors on the Committee on Elections though important, were not calculated to attract as much attention as some other labors more closely connected with the stirring events of the time. Mr. Dawes was a consistent friend of emancipation, and his votes may

always be found recorded on that side. During the reconstruction period, Mr. Dawes, though at times indicating views of a more moderate character than was generally entertained by the majority in the House, recorded his votes on those grave issues with the great body of the party of which he is so useful a member.

During the Fortieth Congress, Mr. Dawes was prominently mentioned for the Speakership of the Forty-first Congress, but as Mr. Blaine's candidacy made it impossible to unite New England delegations, Mr. Dawes retired gracefully and with honors. He was appointed chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, to which important duty he brings the conscientious industry and the careful, painstaking attention which are marked characteristics of his public life and labors. It evinces the high esteem in which the abilities of Mr. Dawes are held at home, that he was offered by Governor Clafin a position on the Supreme Bench of Massachusetts. He declined the honor, preferring legislative to judicial labors.

In a paper read before the American Social Science Association, held in New York, October 26, 1869, Mr. Dawes discussed "the mode of procedure in cases of contested elections." His long experience as a member and chairman of the Committee on Elections, extending through ten years, enabled him to produce a most valuable paper, which illustrates the strongly non-partisan bias of his mind as well as the vigorous simplicity of his style and the compactness of his statements.

Mr. Dawes first calls attention to the fact that by the constitution both Houses were made the sole and only "judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members." With regard to this absolute power he says :

" This is a most remarkable power, and has no analogy ; not remarkable in that it is supreme, for in every constitutional government there is a tribunal of last resort existing somewhere, and of course supreme over the subject-matter or the person falling within its jurisdiction. But in all such tribunals, not only the jurisdiction but the constituent parts of the body itself are defined and fixed by

a law outside of, and superior to the tribunal itself. It does not pass upon its own commission. Yet, in a contested election in Congress, the subject-matter and the person falling within the supreme jurisdiction of each House are the constituents of its own body. Of whom the body shall consist, the body itself has absolute power to determine. And the power to determine of whom either House shall consist, includes that of determining the political character of that House and the fate of measures and administrations, and, it may be, of the Government itself. The grave character of this power thus becomes apparent the moment it is comprehended."

Since his occupation of the chairmanship of the Committee on Appropriations, a position accorded him by usage as the oldest continuous member, as well as by his recognized capacity for the important work needed, Mr. Dawes has made a strong record in favor of the utmost economy and retrenchment, making in the House, January 18, 1870, a vigorous speech which at the time and since created a great deal of discussion and criticism. The occasion was on a bill transferring the Philadelphia navy yard to League Island, which Mr. Dawes opposed as involving uncalled for expenditure.

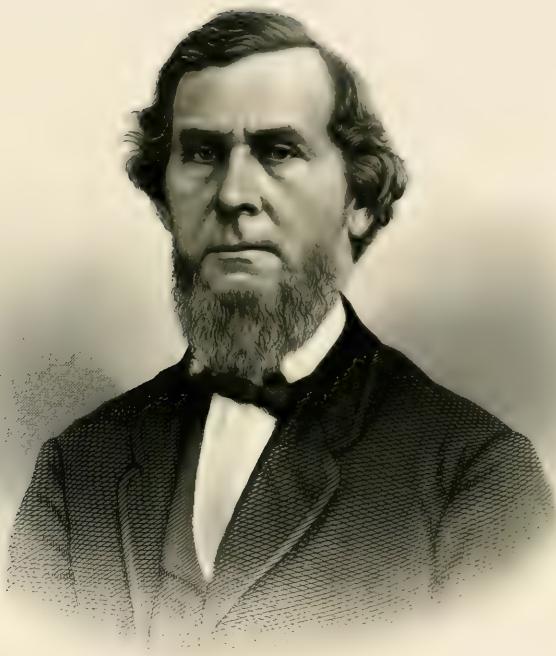
Mr. Dawes is possessed of much more than ordinary literary culture, and those who know him best are often surprised at the extent and quality of the reading for which, busy man of affairs as he is and has so long been, he still finds time. As a speaker Mr. Dawes is easy, fluent, clear and cogent, always talking extemporaneously, and in the colloquial debates which arise on the floor of the House he is one of the most formidable of foes and most valuable of friends, apt at retort, and gifted with a keen and often powerful sarcasm, which lends point to his arguments and sting to his words. As a lawyer Mr. Dawes possesses an excellent reputation, and has a good practice which might be much larger and more lucrative but for his attention to public duties.

COLUMBUS DELANO.

 COLUMBUS DELANO was born at Shoreham, Vermont, in the year 1809. At eight years of age he removed to Ohio, in the care of immediate relatives, who settled in the county of Knox. His boyhood was passed in the lighter avocations of the farm, joined with persistent devotion to study. He pursued his elementary education at such schools as were then available, learning the Latin language with but little aid from classical teachers. His historical reading at the age of eighteen was extensive. With a seriousness becoming his disposition, rather than his years, he began thus early to consider how he should make his way in the world, and what pathway was to lead him out of obscurity to a useful position in life. Without the aid of influential friends, but cheered with the encouraging words of those who knew and loved him, he determined to undertake the study of law.

In 1829 he entered the office of Hosmer Curtis, Esq., then a noted special pleader, practicing at Mount Vernon, Ohio. After three years of preparation he was admitted to the bar, in 1832, and commenced practice at Mount Vernon at the age of twenty-two.

Though no display of talent had been exhibited to justify the expectation that he would triumph suddenly over the formidable obstacles in the way of the young attorney, his success was immediate. He had the good fortune to be employed as junior counsel in a local suit, involving important legal questions and considerable estate. Having been left by an accident to the sole management of the case, he was triumphantly successful, and thus gained a reputation, the immediate effect of which was his election as prosecuting-attorney in a county adverse to his politics. After three years' service he was re-elected, but immediately resigned the trust, which interfered with



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JOHN ADELANO
REPRESENTATIVE FROM CHIC

his general practice. His constant attention upon the courts for a period of ten years, his uniform success as an advocate, his thoroughness and integrity as a lawyer, met with ample reward.

In politics he has ever been opposed to Slavery and the Democratic policy. Seeking no office while pursuing his profession, he was still the occasional exponent of the Whig party in local contests. Surrounded by a cordon of Democratic counties, there seemed to be little hope for his popular preferment. But being unanimously nominated for Congress by the Whigs of his district, in 1844, he was elected by a majority of twelve over his Democratic competitor, Hon. Caleb J. McNulty, a gentleman of extensive popularity, resources and power. The Democratic candidate for Governor received 600 majority in the same district, at the same election. On the 1st of December, 1845, Mr. Delano took his seat in the Twenty-ninth Congress, serving on the Committee on Invalid Pensions. This was an epoch in Congressional history. Contemporaneous with Mr. Polk's administration, it comprised men of great experience and ability. The measures of war and conquest, of Oregon and Mexico, were the vexed questions of that day, the evil shadows of which lengthened into the future. On the Oregon question, Mr. Delano advocated the claims for the largest measure of territory against the settlement which eventually prevailed. On the 11th of May, 1846, he voted with John Quincy Adams, and twelve others, against the declaration that "war existed by the act of Mexico," defending his votes and the action of his associates by a speech in the House. Put forward as a leader of the fourteen who voted against the false declaration, he fully answered their expectations, but without the politician's circumspection as to the future. The speech made great contention, and was regarded of so much significance that Mr. Douglas, of Illinois, Mr. Sherman, of Ohio, Mr. Chipman, of Missouri, and Mr. Tibbatt's, of Kentucky, gave themselves serious concern to answer it.

His district having been changed by special legislation, he was not a candidate for re-election, but retired to close up his business in the courts. His name was brought before the Whig convention of Ohio on the 22d of February, 1848, for nomination as a candidate for

Governor; and though he had voted in Congress to reinforce the army, and to supply the army, the vote against the *declaration* contributed to place him in opposition to the war, and he was consequently defeated by two votes. Retiring from his profession, he removed to the city of New York, as principal of the banking firm of Delano, Dunlevy & Co., with a branch at Cincinnati, Ohio. After four years he withdrew from a successful business, in 1856, returning to his home in Ohio, to engage in agriculture. He was a delegate to the Chicago Convention of 1860, and supported Mr. Lincoln for the nomination. In 1861 he was appointed Commissary-General of Ohio, and administered that department with marked success until the General Government assumed the subsistence of all volunteers. The following year the Republican caucus of the Ohio Legislature brought his name forward for the United States Senate, and he again lacked but two votes of a nomination.

In 1863 he was a member of the Ohio Legislature, serving as Chairman of the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives. In 1864 he was a member of the National Republican Convention at Baltimore, and was Chairman of the Ohio delegation in that body. He was elected to the Thirty-ninth Congress in that year, and served as Chairman of the Committee of Claims of the House of Representatives. As an evidence of the integrity of his character, and the confidence reposed in him by the House, it is sufficient to state that every bill reported by him was passed into a law. He was re-elected to the Fortieth Congress, serving as a member of the Committee of Foreign Affairs.

Immediately upon the close of his Congressional term, he was nominated by President Grant, and unanimously confirmed by the Senate, as Commissioner of Internal Revenue, one of the most important and responsible offices in the Government.

CHARLES DENISON.



CHARLES DENISON was born in Wyoming Valley, Pennsylvania, January 23, 1818. The family of which he came is one of distinction in the Wyoming Valley. His grandfather was one of the victims of the massacre of Wyoming. His uncle, Hon. George Denison, was prominent in the politics of Pennsylvania, and a Representative in Congress from 1819 to 1823. The subject of this sketch graduated at Dickinson College in 1838, and adopted the profession of law, which he continuously and successfully practised until his election to the Thirty-eighth Congress in 1862. He was in 1864 again elected a Representative to Congress from the Twelfth District of Pennsylvania, embracing the counties of Luzerne and Susquehanna. He was re-elected to the Fortieth Congress, but was in his seat only a few days, when he was prostrated by pulmonary disease which had been long preying upon him, and died at his home in Wilkesbarre, June 27, 1867. On the occasion of announcing his death to the House of Representatives, July 10, his colleague Mr. Boyer said: "He was a man of sound judgment, patriotic impulses, and inflexible purpose; modest and without ostentation, but full of courage and determination to meet the requirements of every occasion. No possible temptations of personal advantage could swerve him from his convictions of public duty; and he would make no compromise, even indirectly, which had the least appearance of a surrender of principle. Correct in business affairs, kind, steadfast, and true in his domestic and social relations, his private, like his public life, was above reproach. Death to him was neither unexpected nor terrible." Describing his last interview with his dying colleague, Mr. Boyer said: "He spoke like one whose peace was made with God, and whose conscience was void of offence toward man."

JOHN T. DEWEESE.

 OHN T. DEWEESE was born June 4, 1835, in Crawford County, Arkansas, of French parentage on the father's side, and German on the mother's side. In 1844, soon after the death of his father, he removed with his mother to Rome, Perry County, Indiana. Having received a good English education, he commenced the study of law in the office of Judge Smith. After a year thus occupied, his money being exhausted, he went as clerk on a steamboat running between Cincinnati and the Arkansas River. At the age of eighteen he left the river, returned to Indiana, and spent three years in the employments of studying law and teaching school.

Arriving at his majority in 1856, he took part in the political campaign of that year, supporting General Fremont for the Presidency. He subsequently went back to the river as captain of a steamboat plying between Memphis, Tennessee, and Jacksonsport, Arkansas. He held this position a year, when political excitement running high in the South, he sold out most of his Southern property, and went to Indianapolis, Indiana, where he resumed the study of law. In 1859 he commenced the practice of law as one of the firm of Allen, Usher & Deweese. In the following year he took an active part in the Presidential campaign in favor of Lincoln.

On the breaking out of the Rebellion he entered the army as a private soldier, and in July, 1860, he was commissioned a second lieutenant in the 74th Indiana Infantry. After the taking of Fort Donelson, receiving an order to raise a company of cavalry, he resigned his commission. Having raised a company, in which he took his place as a private when mustered into service, he was, by an unanimous vote, elected captain. After having seen service with General Buell in the disastrous campaign which ended in his retreat



Mr. S. Daeeese

from Nashville into Kentucky in the fall of 1862, he was in the ensuing January promoted to the rank of major, and a few months after was made successively lieutenant-colonel and colonel. He was in all the battles of the army of the Cumberland. When General Grant took command after the battle of Chickamauga, Col. Deweese was made inspector of cavalry, and charged with the mounting, drilling, and equipping of all the cavalry recruits for the military division of the Mississippi. He established, near Nashville, a camp of instruction, where about fourteen thousand men were equipped and sent into the field.

At the close of the war he was commissioned a lieutenant in the regular army, and was ordered to the 8th Infantry, stationed at Raleigh, North Carolina, where he remained until August, 1867. After the passage of the Reconstruction act he made the first speech in the South supporting the measure. On the 27th of March, 1867, the first Republican convention that met in the South assembled at Raleigh, and was addressed by him. For reviewing the political course of President Johnson, General D. E. Sickles, then commanding the military district, arrested him, and ordered him tried by a court-martial. On the matter being brought to the notice of General Grant, he released him, and dismissed the court-martial. Mr. Deweese resigned his commission in the army, and was appointed by Chief-Justice Chase a Register in Bankruptcy, an office which he held until his election to the Fortieth Congress. Admitted with his colleagues near the close of the term for which he was elected, he was re-elected a Representative from North Carolina in the Forty-first Congress.

OLIVER J. DICKEY.

 OLIVER J. DICKEY was born in Old Brighton, Beaver County, Pennsylvania, April 6, 1823. He was educated at Dickinson College, where he remained until the end of his junior year, but did not graduate. He studied law with Hon. Thaddeus Stevens, and engaged in the practise of the profession in Lancaster. From 1856 to 1859 he was district-attorney for Lancaster County. He was elected to fill the vacancy in the Fortieth Congress, occasioned by the death of Hon. Thaddeus Stevens. Mr. Dickey took his seat in the Fortieth Congress at the beginning of its last session, December 7, 1868. His first speech before that body was on December 17, when he announced the death of his distinguished predecessor. The following passage from the introductory portion of this address is fitly quoted here :

“ This distinguished statesman was not merely my predecessor in this body, but in my childhood my father taught me to admire and love him who was the instructor and guide of my youth, and the friend of my maturer years. If an intimacy with wise and noble men be one of the greatest blessings that can crown a man, then in no part of my career have I been so fortunate as in my association with Thaddeus Stevens. It was in his office, and in connection with him, that I commenced my professional life ; and from that moment, through the turmoil of many legal and political contests, down to the moment when in his last will he selected me to perform the last service one man can ask from his fellow, our friendship suffered neither diminution nor interruption.”

Mr. Dickey was re-elected by a large majority to the Forty-first Congress, during which he was appointed a member of the Committee on Appropriations.

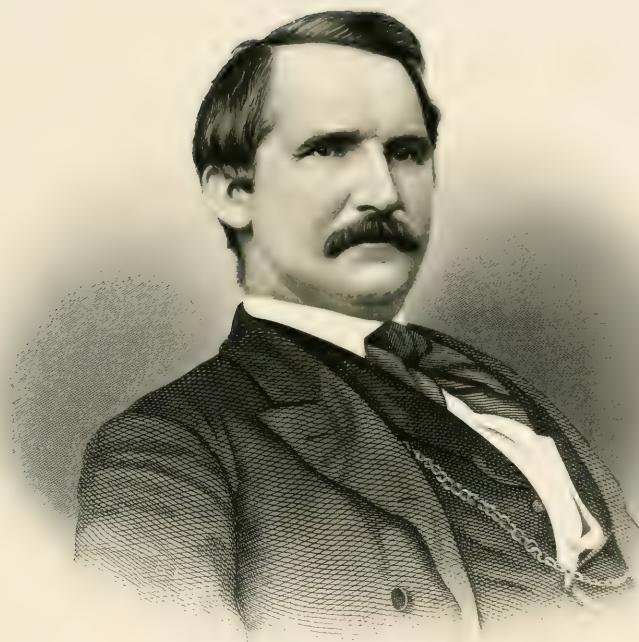
NATHAN F. DIXON.

NATHON F. DIXON was born in Westerly, Connecticut, May 1, 1812. His father, bearing the same name, emigrated from Connecticut to Rhode Island in 1800, and was a Senator in Congress from 1839 to January 29, 1842, when he died at Washington. The subject of this sketch prepared for college at Plainfield Academy in Connecticut, and graduated at Brown University in 1833. He attended the law-schools of Yale College and Harvard University, and having been admitted to the bar in New London in 1837, he engaged in the practise of his profession in Connecticut and Rhode Island. He was, however, passionately fond of agricultural pursuits, and devoted much time and expense to the improvement of an extensive farm, and stocking it with the best breeds of blooded animals. He was a member of the Assembly of Rhode Island from 1840 to 1849; was a Whig Presidential Elector in 1844, and was elected a Representative from Rhode Island to the Thirty-first Congress. He was again elected to the General Assembly of Rhode Island in 1851, and, with the exception of two years, held the office until 1859.

In 1863 Mr. Dixon was elected a Representative from Rhode Island to the Thirty-eighth Congress, and served on the Committee on Commerce. He was re-elected to the Thirty-ninth, Fortieth and Forty-first Congresses, during which he served as a member, and finally as chairman of the Committee on Commerce. He was a delegate to the Philadelphia "Loyalists' Convention" of 1866. He took no public part in the deliberations of the Fortieth Congress, made no "remarks," and reported no measures, contenting himself simply with giving his vote, which was always with the Republican majority.

OLIVER H. DOCKERY.

 OLIVER H. DOCKERY was born in Richmond County, North Carolina, August 12, 1830. His father, Hon. Alfred Dockery, an ex-member of Congress, was a man of prominence and influence in North Carolina for many years. He graduated at the University of North Carolina in 1848, and read law, but did not practice, preferring to devote himself to agricultural pursuits. He was a member of the North Carolina Legislature of 1858 and 1859. He was an elector for the Union ticket in 1860, canvassing his district thoroughly and ably for Bell and Everett. He defended the Union upon the stump with such boldness and ability as to win applause even from his political enemies. Under the social pressure existing at the South he was for a short time in the Confederate service, but as soon as possible withdrew therefrom and took a bold stand for the re-establishment of the national government. He was active and influential in the Peace movement of 1864 in North Carolina, under the leadership of Governor Holden, and aided materially in the reconstruction of the State. In April, 1868, he was nominated for Representative in the Fortieth Congress from North Carolina, and after an animated contest was elected by a large majority. Admitted to his seat near the close of the Fortieth Congress he served on the Committee on Revolutionary Claims. He was re-elected and was placed on the Committee on Reconstruction, as a member of which he was active in his efforts to secure the best possible terms for the restoration of the Southern States; and as a member of the Committee on Claims, he urged the payment of loyal claimants for property taken for the use of the army. As chairman of the Committee on Freedmen's Affairs, he favored measures promoting schools and other means for the improvement of the colored people.



W. H. Doekins

W. H. Doekins

AN OLD FOLK'S HOLIDAY

ALLEGEDLY WRITTEN BY W. H. DOEKINS



G. M. Dodge

HON G. M. DODGE.

GRENVILLE. M. DODGE.



GRENVILLE M. DODGE was born at Danvers, Massachusetts, April 12, 1831, and was educated at the Military University, Norwich, Vermont. He emigrated to the west in 1851, and was employed as a civil engineer on various Illinois railroads until 1853, when he was appointed Assistant Engineer of the Mississippi and Missouri Railroad, and made the preliminary surveys of that road across the State of Iowa. In the fall of 1854 he located at Council Bluffs, Iowa, and engaged in mercantile and banking operations. At the breaking out of the Rebellion he promptly tendered his services to the Governor of Iowa, and was sent to Washington to make arrangements for securing arms and equipments for the troops of that State. Having succeeded in his mission, he returned home and raised the 4th regiment of Iowa Infantry and the 2d Iowa (Dodge's) Battery, and was commissioned Colonel of the former.

In the month of July, 1861, with such force as he had then in hand, he marched into North-west Missouri to drive out the rebel leader, Poindexter, who with a large force of rebels was threatening the southern border of Iowa, and the destruction of the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad. Having accomplished the object of this expedition he marched back to Council Bluffs, where he completed the organization of his regiment and battery, and reported with them to General Fremont, at St. Louis, in the month of August.

He was soon after ordered to Rolla, Missouri, and commanded that post until the "Army of the South-west" was organized under Gen. Curtis, when he was assigned to command the 4th Division of that army, and led its advance in the capture of Springfield, Missouri. He commanded the right wing at the battle of Pea Ridge, where he had three horses killed under him, and was dangerously wounded. For his gallant conduct in this battle he was made a Brigadier-Gen-

eral, and as soon as he recovered from his wounds was assigned to command the district of Columbus, Kentucky. He defeated General Villipigue on the Hatchie river, captured General Faulkner and his command near Island Number Ten, and attacked Van Dorn's column at Tuscumbia, Tennessee, capturing many prisoners. In the spring of 1863 he brilliantly opened the campaign with the defeat of the forces of Forrest, Roddy and Ferguson in several severe engagements. In July he was assigned to command the left wing of the 16th Army Corps, with headquarters at Corinth, and made the famous raid on Grenada which resulted in the capture of fifty-five locomotives and one thousand cars. He rebuilt railroads, organized, armed and equipped many thousands of colored troops, and fought many battles which would require a volume to describe.

In the spring of 1864, with his command, he joined General Sherman at Chattanooga, and was given the advance of the Army of the Tennessee, in its celebrated movement at the opening of the Atlanta campaign. He defeated the rebels in many hotly contested engagements, and saw his splendid services recognized by the Government in his promotion to the rank of Major-General.

He was on the extreme left of the army in the bloody battle of July 22d in front of Atlanta (in which McPherson fell), and for a long time with his corps he bore the brunt of the battle, and, by stubborn resistance and heroic bravery, hurled back the advancing columns of an enemy confident of success and outnumbering him three to one, and, doubtless, saved the army from a serious disaster, turning a threatened defeat into a substantial victory. In front of his *eleven regiments* that held the left, he took prisoners from *forty-nine regiments* representing *two corps* of the enemy. Against this great odds he not only held his ground, drove the enemy with terrible slaughter, capturing a large number of prisoners, but also detached an entire brigade to assist the 15th Corps (General Logan's) to retake and hold its works, from which the enemy had driven a portion of it.

On the 19th of August, while superintending an advance of his front line, then besieging the city of Atlanta, he fell, dangerously

wounded, by a gun shot in his head, and as soon as able to move was sent North, where he remained until he had recovered from his wound, when he reported for duty to General Sherman, but not being considered physically able to take part in the "march to the Sea," he was ordered to take command of the district of Vicksburg. While *en route* for this command he was assigned by the President to take command of the Department of Missouri, relieving General Rosecrans. When he assumed command of this difficult department, the "grave of generals," the troops were in bad condition, and the State was overrun with guerillas and rebel marauders. General Dodge went to work with great energy, and soon succeeded in bringing order to the scene of anarchy and confusion. The Departments of Kansas and Utah were soon after merged in his command, bringing additional trouble and responsibilities. The Indians of the plains had combined in hostilities, from the British Provinces to the Red River on the south.

General Dodge grasped the numberless and perplexing difficulties of his department with a master hand. Although it was mid-winter, he promptly concentrated and put in motion troops who invaded the country of the hostile Indians, chastised them and compelled them to sue for peace. The guerillas were so vigorously hunted down that those who were not killed either fled or surrendered. The rebel general Jeff. Thompson, with about 8,000 officers and men, surrendered to General Dodge in Arkansas, while about 4,000 men of Kirby Smith's army surrendered to him in Missouri. At the close of the war General Dodge turned over the department of Missouri to General Pope. He subsequently held a general command, embracing Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado, Western Dakota, Montana, and Utah. In June, 1866, at his urgent solicitation, he was relieved of his command and his resignation was accepted.

He immediately entered actively upon his duties as Chief Engineer of the Union Pacific Railroad, to which position he had been previously appointed. As early as 1853 his attention had been attracted to the Pacific Railroad enterprise. During that year he surveyed the present route west from the Missouri River, and made a report to

Messrs. Farnham and Durant. The primary object then was to fix upon the most feasible route for the Pacific road, and to accommodate the terminus of the Mississippi and Missouri road thereto, in order to make a connection.

In 1859 Mr. Lincoln visited Council Bluffs and consulted with Mr. Dodge relative to the Pacific Railroad, at which time all its important features were discussed. In 1863, pending the passage of the Pacific Railroad bill, President Lincoln telegraphed to General Dodge, then commanding at Corinth, Mississippi, to repair to Washington, which he did, and in the interview then had Mr. Lincoln decided to fix the initial point of the road at the western boundary of Iowa, between the towns of Council Bluffs and Omaha, and the bill was so perfected.

In July, 1866, the Republicans of the Fifth Congressional District of Iowa, proud of his brilliant war record, and grateful for his services, nominated General Dodge for Congress. The honor was entirely unsought and reluctantly accepted, as he was at the time at the head of his engineer corps, tracing the route of that grand thoroughfare, the Union Pacific Railroad, over the plains. Though he made no canvass whatever, being all the while away upon the plains, General Dodge was elected over a popular competitor by 4,398 majority, nearly 2,000 more than the district had ever before given.

In the Fortieth Congress Mr. Dodge never occupied the time of the House in speaking, and yet was among the most able and efficient members. As a member of the Committee on Military Affairs he rendered the country valuable service, especially in the measure for the re-organization of the Army. To his services Iowa is largely indebted for the passage of bills to reimburse the expenses incurred by the State in raising and equipping volunteers and defending its borders. He positively declined a re-nomination, and shortly after the close of the Fortieth Congress he returned to the plains to push forward the construction of the Pacific Railroad. He has just enjoyed the proud satisfaction of witnessing the completion of that grand enterprise, to which the best energies of his life have been given, to the success of which no living man has contributed more.



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